

**Jawaharlal Nehru
Letters to Chief Ministers
1947-1964**

**Volume 3
1952-1954**

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General Editor
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PRIME MINISTER

FOREWORD

The Indian Republic is built on the foundations of liberty and the sovereignty of the people. It believes that all decisions and policies should be actuated by the desire to lighten the burdens of the people and lead them to a higher level of self-respect and autonomy. In our system the state does not subscribe to any religious dogma. This grand vision of a nation growing in freedom is a legacy to us of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Our constitution itself is an expression of the democratic spirit that our freedom movement exemplified. Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in drawing millions upon millions of our people into that movement. He did it in spite of the prevalent illiteracy and the fact that in his day the media had no mass reach. The mystery can be explained only by the fact that Gandhiji's incandescent words came out from the depth of truth. The Indian freedom movement became the world's largest democratic movement because of the constant dialogue between the leaders and the people.

Jawaharlal Nehru shared his master's gift for communication with the people. He knew that a democratic mass movement gained inner strength only when a common set of ideals was shared, through the exercise of reasoned examination, by the largest number of people. It is in order to convince the people of India of the conceptual and practical soundness of his beliefs and courses of action that Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote so copiously and tirelessly. His three great books, the hundreds of articles he wrote, and the thousands of speeches he delivered, whether to kisans or urban audiences or intellectual groups, had this aim.

Naturally the habit continued when he assumed office. A prime minister, it is said, is the nation's prime persuader. Jawaharlal Nehru, as the first Prime Minister, was convinced that the task of building institutions and conventions, so vital in a democracy, demanded that he share with his colleagues his reasons for whatever decisions he took and courses of action he pursued. Change through consent and greater social justice were the theme songs of Panditji's prime ministership. He insisted that right ends should be matched by the right means. He wanted to leaven Indian society with the new ideas of political freedom and social equality. He was impatient to overhaul the judiciary, the civil service and other governmental and social institutions for meeting the demands of the new age. He set about using modern science and technology and the insights of socialism to overcome the problems of poverty. In the international field, he wanted resurgent India to champion the cause of all peoples who had suffered from colonial subjugation. He also wanted the message of non-violence and conciliation to go out to a world divided into rival blocs and threatened by the prospect of nuclear war. He sought the willing involvement of the Indian people in this great adventure. He devoted a great deal of time and thought to the letters he wrote to Chief Ministers once a fortnight expounding his ideas and aspirations.

These fortnightly letters have long been regarded as a basic text in nation-building and in open statecraft. But they had so far not been available to the general public. When the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund approached the Government with a proposal to publish them, the Government readily agreed. These letters reveal a great mind and a large heart at work. But I am sure they will also be a major source of education for everyone who wishes to work for a strong, prosperous and wise India.

New Delhi
November 5, 1985



(RAJIV GANDHI)

Editorial Note

The third volume of Jawaharlal Nehru's *Letters to Chief Ministers* covers the two years from June 1952, when the new Parliament met after the first general elections, to July 1954, which saw a settlement on Indo-China at the Geneva Conference soon after Premier Zhou Enlai's visit to Delhi. While both at home and abroad there was a considerable measure of achievement, the Prime Minister found no room for complacency. The presence of an effective Opposition in the new Parliament was to be welcomed as it lent a certain reality to the debates and kept the Government and the majority party wide awake. Nehru firmly believed that democracy was more than a political system. It was a way of government and life itself and for this it needed an economic basis. If poverty and low standards continued, then democracy, despite fine institutions and ideals, would cease to be a living force. This was why it became essential to continue with pragmatic planning, balancing reality with ideas and co-ordinating aspirations with resources. The people should understand the Plan and participate in it, and this sense of partnership would not only speed up development but assist in the longer and perhaps even more important process of the psychological integration of India. The country had to advance as a whole and not in bits and patches, and this would in turn help to combat the pettiness of mind and narrowness in social outlook which were to be found in the country. The basic problem was to build up a united India in every sense.

In these letters Nehru touches on every problem, large and small, and on all the efforts being made to deal with these problems. The progress of planning, community development projects, land reforms, administrative issues and the development of the north-east frontier areas are but

some of the matters he considers, but he always sets them in the wider context of the right objectives and the proper directions towards those objectives. So too, in foreign policy, he explains repeatedly the true nature and significance of non-alignment and puts in their proper setting the immediate issues such as the negotiations on Korea, relations with Pakistan and the military assistance which the United States had agreed to give to Pakistan. Much of what he says on such military assistance is still of relevance today.

He noted with satisfaction the role which her non-aligned policy had secured for India particularly in serving as the custodian force in Korea and, after the Prime Ministers of the South Asian countries had met at Colombo and called for a ceasefire in Indo-China, helping at the Geneva Conference from behind the scenes in drawing the two sides closer towards a settlement. But he also reminded the Chief Ministers that high destiny is a dangerous companion, bringing responsibilities as well as successes. He sets forth too the links between domestic and foreign policy, and the fact that they are both increasingly governed by economic factors. At home as well as abroad India has to be independent, but there is an even nobler aspiration. If India is to be really great, she cannot be exclusive either internally or externally but has to give up everything that is a barrier to growth in mind or in spirit or in social life.

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Abbreviations

A I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
A.N.Z.U.S.	Security treaty signed by Australia, New Zealand and United States of America
b. fn	biographical footnote
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.N.S.	Indian Naval Ship
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir state
K.M.T.	Kuomintang
M.E.D.O.	Middle East Defence Organization
N.A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
N.E.F.A.	North East Frontier Agency
N.N.R.C.	Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
S.E.A.T.O.	South East Asian Treaty Organization
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
U.N.O.	United Nations Organization
U.P.	Uttar Pradesh

New Delhi
5 June, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last,¹ we have had prolonged discussions in Parliament on the President's² Address.³ We are now having discussions on the budget.⁴ As the strength of the Opposition in Parliament has increased and there are representatives there of different schools of thought, the debates are a little more lively than they used to be. I think we should welcome this. Indeed an effective Opposition is desirable from many points of view. It may, and it does, delay the disposal of matters. It may occasionally prove somewhat irritating. But, nevertheless, it tends to keep Government and the majority party wide awake. Also it brings a certain reality in our debates and thus helps in the political education of the country.

1 On 18 May 1952 See *Letters to Chief Ministers*, Vol 2, pp 608-619

2 Rajendra Prasad. For b fn see Vol 2, p 14

3 In the debate lasting three days from 19 to 21 May 1952, the Opposition criticized lack of references to hardships faced by the common man, the famine conditions in parts of the country and the demand for formation of linguistic provinces. Some members criticized the Government's foreign policy as 'passive and pro-American'. For the President's Address to the joint session of the two Houses of Parliament, see Vol 2, p 608

4 In the debate on the railway and general budgets which took place in both Houses of Parliament between 22 May and 4 June 1952, members of the Opposition criticized reduction in food subsidies, and demanded confiscation of British assets in India, reduction in defence expenditure, higher allocation for Grow-More-Food Campaign, increase in taxation of the rich and imposition of estate duty

2 It is true that these debates sometimes tend to become mere exhibitions of forensic skill or just a bundle of accusations and counter-accusations, which is not very helpful.⁵ But behind it all, there is a certain clash of ideas and, out of this clash, new aspects of the problems that confront us are sometimes brought to light. We face difficult problems—indeed the whole world faces them—and we are often criticized for our lack of competence in dealing with them. We cannot naturally be our own judges and Opposition, even unjustified Opposition, proves a useful purpose in making all of us think. We are growing politically with some rapidity under the stress of circumstances. The change-over from the days of struggle against British rule to a new and constructive phase of carrying on the Government of the country required a capacity for adaptation. I believe that on the whole we showed a considerable capacity to do this. But it takes time for the people as a whole to get out of the old grooves of thought and action. There is a certain time-lag about this when politics become rather vague and fluid. It is this fluid nature of our politics that led to the growth, during the years following independence, of communal organizations. They represent reactionary and rather primitive urges and thinking. They are neither politics nor economics. The last election indicated, more especially in the defeat of the communal parties, that we were maturing.⁶ That did not mean that the primitive urges, exploiting the name of religion, had ceased to function. We see them still suddenly

5 For example, during the debate on the Presidential Address, while Communist members accused the Government of being "pro-American" and criticized the alleged repression and suppression of civil liberties, especially in Telengana, the Congress members charged that the Communists acting as agents of a foreign power, supported a policy of subverting democracy in India.

6 The Bhartiya Jan Sangh secured 2.75 per cent of the total votes polled and won only 35 out of 732 seats contested by it for the Central and the State Legislatures, the Ram Rajya Parishad and the Hindu Mahasabha won only 20 and 32 out of 206 and 304 seats contested by them respectively.

raising themselves and trying to dominate the normal thinking on political and economic problems. Thus, in Delhi recently there was a sudden and rather significant flare-up about a proposed marriage between a young Hindu girl and a Muslim youth.⁷ This entirely personal affair was exploited by communal elements and for a short while there was some petty rioting in Delhi.⁸ By itself, this was not very important, but it showed how these primitive ideas still influence some people and can be used to excite the passions of others.

3 We have to come to grips with our problems and we can only really do so if we shed these relics of the past. The problems are national and international, political and economic. In all these spheres of activity, we have pursued an independent line of our own, which has been often cautious but nevertheless firm. We have avoided dramatic poses or flamboyant utterances which might, for the moment, appeal to some sections of the public, but which inevitably produce unfavourable reactions in the end. Slowly and gradually our policy has, I think, borne fruit and the position of India internationally is definitely good and commands a large measure of respect. Even the continuous propaganda against us by Pakistan in Western Asia or other Muslim countries has exhausted itself because it had no real basis, and these countries look much more towards us than they used to do. In the grave crises which afflict the Far East of Asia, India continues to play a silent and unobtrusive part in favour of peace. It may be that what we do might make a difference. If that happens, then India would indeed have served the cause of peace and humanity.

4 Some people blame us because we do not shout from the house-tops about our foreign policy and do not condemn this country or that. There is far too much of condemnation of one country by another and it would serve little purpose

7 Sikander Bakht married Raj Sharma

8. Rioting on 26 May 1952 resulted in arrests and injuries to several persons, and Section 144 had to be promulgated in the city

for us to join in that chorus. When national passions are roused it does not help merely to condemn, even though there might be some justification for doing so. Some kind of a healing process is necessary. Whether we are capable of applying this touch of healing to a tortured world, I do not know. But that has been our earnest wish and we have, in our own imperfect way, tried to do so.

5 Foreign policy depends to a large extent on domestic policy. Both of them are governed more and more by economic factors. The first thing for us to consider is whether our domestic or international policies are being controlled or influenced in any way by other countries. In the world today, there are very few countries which are in a position to maintain independent policies of their own choice. Small countries, and even big ones, tend to depend upon others, and have even to conform to the dictates of others. We are naturally influenced by what is happening in the world. But I think it is completely true to say that we do not allow our policy, domestic or foreign, to be dictated by any other country. If we make mistakes, they are our own. During the last two or three years, some attempts were made to induce us to follow some policies which were not to our liking. We refused to submit to such dictation and made it clear that, whatever the consequences, we proposed to follow our own methods. Gradually other countries realized that there was some conviction and strength behind our written and spoken word and that we were earnest when we said we would not align ourselves with a particular group of nations. Sometimes, it happens that a particular action of ours is interpreted as being more favourable to a particular country or group. In the circumstances, we take it on the merits. But it means not the slightest change in our basic outlook or policy.

6 Recently we have received considerable aid from the United States of America.⁹ We have welcomed this because it

⁹ See Vol. 2, pp. 544 and 556

has helped us to do many things which we otherwise might not have done. We accepted that aid on the clear condition that there were no strings to it and that it would not come in the way of our policy. It is true, however, that whenever a country depends upon another for aid, a certain obligation comes in and a certain involuntary dependence. There is that risk. If we are wide awake, however, we can avoid that risk.

7 As a result of past history and present circumstances, most of our contacts have been with the western world, chiefly with the United Kingdom and America and some countries of Europe. That was inevitable. Even our cultural contacts, through the medium of the English language, have been with the west. There is no reason, however, why we should not gradually develop these contacts with great nations like China and the U.S.S.R. Both these countries are our neighbours and, in the long run, we are bound to have greater dealings with them. Indeed, so far as India and China are concerned it becomes increasingly clear to me that the future of Asia depends very largely on our contacts and association. That does not mean that we should copy each other or interfere with each other. It does mean a basic understanding that our association is essential for the peace of Asia and advantageous to both countries. We are apt to lose sight of the more distant future in our preoccupation with the present. If, however, we look at the long perspective of history and try to peep into the future, ignoring for the moment our present discontents, then the importance of India and China functioning with a measure of co-operation becomes obvious.

8 Tomorrow the cultural mission that we sent to China is returning to Delhi.¹⁰ This mission has had a very cordial welcome wherever it went all over that great country and the reports we have had from them thus far indicate how greatly they were impressed by various developments in China. We

¹⁰ The delegation led by Vijayalakshmi Pandit had gone to China on 26 April 1952. See Vol. 2, p. 577.

shall have fuller reports from them after their arrival. One thing that has been repeatedly brought to our notice is the feeling of Asian solidarity that the leaders of China possess and their desire for friendly relations with India. Much has happened in China which we do not approve. But the basic fact, and it is of historic significance, is the emergence of a mighty nation, united, disciplined and with an enormous capacity to work for common ends. Everybody who visits China is impressed by this enthusiasm and drive of the people there. A people who have this dynamic capacity must go far

9. You may have seen in the newspapers that China has sold us 100,000 tons of rice ¹¹ It was not particularly easy for China to send us this rice because their food situation has been a somewhat difficult one this year. Nevertheless, they sent it as a gesture of friendship.

10. The situation in the Far East has shown no improvement. Perhaps it is something that it has not grown worse and that the truce negotiations are still continuing. One has a feeling that neither party is prepared to break them because they wish to avoid the consequences of such a break, those consequences being war on a tremendous scale. At the same time, agreement eludes them and the problem of the return of prisoners has proved insurmountable thus far.¹² There are one or two gleams of hope sometimes, but it is not possible to say what they will lead to. Meanwhile, certain incidents in the prisoners of war's camps of the U.N. have created much stir.¹³ It is difficult to find out exactly what happened but something appears to have been very wrong.

¹¹ The contract was signed between the two countries in Beijing on 26 May 1952

¹² The negotiations which started in July 1951 were deadlocked as the Communists insisted on compulsory repatriation of prisoners

¹³ Incidents of violence in the U N prisoners camps at the Koje Island and other places led to Communist General Nam Il charging on 21 May 1952 that the Communist prisoners in the U N camps were being forced to join the allied army. He demanded that the U N should tackle the problem of unrest in its camps "unequivocally and responsibly "

11. I have told you previously about Pakistan's proposal to have a passport system between India and Pakistan ¹⁴ The conference to consider this has been going on in Karachi. Agreement has been arrived at about many matters but some still remain.¹⁵

12. Among other important happenings have been the elections in Ceylon¹⁶ and the satyagraha there of the Indians.¹⁷ The elections are over but the problem of the Indians there demanding citizenship rights still remains and satyagraha is continuing. It is not for us to encourage or discourage any peaceful agitation which the Indians in Ceylon might take up That is their responsibility. But our sympathies are entirely with their demand for voting rights.

13. In South Africa something on a much bigger scale is happening. The question of Indians in South Africa has now become a small part of a much longer issue in which Africans are involved. The South African Union Parliament has just passed a law¹⁸ to circumvent the decision of their Supreme Court.¹⁹ This law is going to be challenged in the

14 See Vol 2, p 616

15 At a conference from 15 to 19 May, while both sides agreed on the procedure to be followed from 15 October regarding the issue of passports, the Indian representatives did not agree with the Pakistani proposal to restrict the issue of passports as they felt that it would cause hardship to the people living in border areas in East and West Bengal where on an average over 6,000 people crossed the frontier daily To resolve these differences Zafarullah Khan and M S Mehta, India's High Commissioner in Pakistan met at Karachi from 3 to 9 June 1953

16 The general elections held from 24 to 30 May 1952 resulted in the victory for the coalition government headed by the United National Party

17 The satyagraha was launched on 28 April 1952 by the Ceylon National Congress to protest against the disfranchisement of Indians

18 The Bill passed on 3 June 1952 empowered Parliament to set aside any judgement of the Supreme Court on any Act of Parliament

19 On 20 March 1952, the Supreme Court had declared invalid the Separate Representation of Voters Act

Supreme Court ²⁰ If the Supreme Court declares this law also as *ultra vires* and invalid, then a very difficult constitutional conflict will arise. But far graver than any constitutional conflict is the simmering discontent of vast numbers of Africans.

14 During the past fortnight we had a distinguished visitor in Delhi, Dr Natsir,²¹ ex-Prime Minister of Indonesia. I had long talks with him and I was happy to find how much in common our two countries had. The friendship of India and Indonesia is an important factor in South East Asia. Dr Natsir addressed our Members of Parliament²² and also paid a brief visit to Kashmir.²³

15 Discussions on the budget bring up not only a multitude of relatively minor complaints but also the basic issues governing our economic policy. They brought up also the food position in the country and the withdrawal of the food subsidy.²⁴ The Finance Minister²⁵ explained fully²⁶ the reasons for this withdrawal of the subsidy and I hope you will agree with me that his argument was sound and any

20 Four Indians challenged in the Supreme Court on 11 June 1952 the application of the High Court of Parliament Act as violation of their voting rights guaranteed to them under Section 152 of the South African Act.

21 Mohammad Natsir (b. 1908) Minister of Information, 1946-49, Prime Minister of Indonesia, 1950-51, Chairman of Islamic Party, Masjumi, 1952-58.

22 Addressing Members of Parliament on 28 May 1952, Natsir spoke of the new awakening among the people of Asia and Africa and their desire "to co-operate and work together for their own emancipation", and "to shape the destiny of Asia."

23 On 25 May 1952.

24 The Government withdrew the food subsidy in February and May 1952.

25 C. D. Deshmukh. For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 484.

26 He stated in the Lok Sabha on 20 May 1952 that the Government did not have the means to subsidize food and the Government's only commitment was to relieve distress wherever it occurred. He admitted that some hardships had been caused by the withdrawal of subsidies, but did not think that consumers had been hit badly.

continuation of the food subsidy in a large way might well be disastrous for us, though it might give some temporary relief. It will mean our giving up some of our major plans for development and also many of the hopes we have nourished for the future. The pressure on the Finance Minister has been great and it is true that some States have to face a difficult situation. But we cannot sacrifice what we consider the good of the country in the present and in the future by adopting a dangerous policy under pressure. Imperial Rome carried on for some time with "bread and circuses" but it decayed and weakened. Therefore, the firm line adopted by our Finance Minister must be appreciated.

16 Having said so, I should like to make it perfectly clear that all of us, including the Finance Minister, are keenly alive to the present food situation in the country and, even as I write this letter, we are giving our urgent and earnest consideration to it. We shall do our utmost to help and even to vary our policy somewhat to meet special circumstances, provided always that basic policy remains and no risks are taken for the future.

17. In spite of our present difficulties, I do not think that our economic position is bad. If we can get over these difficulties now in the course of the next few months and do not take a step which might add to them later, I feel that we shall make progress. I think that in this matter we can compare favourably with many countries. Pakistan has been specially hard hit by the economic depression. There was even some talk of Pakistan taking some wheat from us, but, for political reasons, they decided not to do so.

27 The supply of rice to India under the trade agreement of February 1951 was suspended by Pakistan for sometime due to shortages of foodgrains at home. For resuming the supply, the Pakistan Government wished to secure Indian wheat in exchange. As per their announcement on 28 May 1952, they found "the details received from India not workable."

18 I referred in my last letter²⁸ to you about the lack of purchasing power in certain parts of the country and the possible consequences of production going down because consumption is reduced. It is a little difficult to judge of the entire country from the partial data that we have. During the last week we had a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Delhi and these basic problems were discussed at length.²⁹ The Planning Commission is naturally deeply concerned with them and will have to give a lead. Their report is likely to come out in another six weeks' time.³⁰ We have to find a middle way between too much caution and too much risk. Both are dangerous. There has been much talk of deficit financing. To say that deficit financing is good or is bad has no particular meaning. It may be good in a certain set of circumstances and it may be bad in a different context. One thing is clear, that is, we have to be brave in our outlook and we have to take some risk because our fear of taking a risk might itself involve us in greater risk. At the same time, it is perfectly clear that one cannot play about with a nation's finances and the future of millions of people.

19 It seems to me that there is considerable scope in India for us to raise money by loan. We have thus far followed old and orthodox methods of appealing to the public for Government loans. These methods do not inspire. But if we changed our methods of appeal to the public for developmental purposes and, more especially, for local development, I am sure that the response would be good, provided we proceed in the right way and put some drive and energy into this business. This is where publicmen come in, normally Government officials do not know the public approach or how to conduct such a drive.

28 See Vol 2, pp 617-618

29 The Congress Working Committee meeting from 31 May to 2 June 1952 discussed the Party's affairs in Travancore-Cochin and Pepsu, the allocation and distribution of membership fee among the various Congress committees and implementation of land reforms in the States.

30 In fact it was released on 8 December 1952. See *post*, item 20

20 I dislike the idea of our depending more and more on foreign help. This makes us less self-reliant and we begin to feel a little helpless. I cannot believe that in a great country like India we are unable to raise far more resources than we at present imagine. Those resources can be in money or in labour. We attach perhaps too much importance to money and too little to the labour of men which ultimately produces wealth. We have developed a mentality of looking to others for help. The municipality or the district board looks to the State Government, the State Government looks to the Central Government. If the Central Government looks too much to countries abroad, then the circle of dependence is complete. There is absolutely no reason why we should not get help from abroad if the terms are right. Our need is great and we should gladly welcome such help. But the fact remains that ultimately a nation progresses not by money but by the quality of men and women in it and any step taken that might lessen that quality is ultimately bad.

21 Our Food Ministry is at present faced with the serious problem of storage. Unless we have proper accommodation to store the foodgrains that are coming in we shall waste them. I would therefore ask you to get your Government to examine urgently the storage accommodation at your disposal and to increase it. You will have to keep large stocks of foodgrains during the coming months and you must prepare for that from now onwards.

22 In order to increase production of foodgrains we are having crop competitions.³¹ These have been successful in the past. We are having another such competition now in

³¹ An all-India crop competition was held for a fortnight from 1 June 1952 to promote improvement in quality and increase in yield. The crops included paddy, wheat, gram, jowar, bajra and potatoes.

the first fortnight of June. These competitions are meant to arouse enthusiasm among the farmers and increase food production. Substantial awards are given to the farmers and for each specified crop the prize is Rs. 5,000/- In addition, there are numerous other prizes. It is desirable that as large a number of farmers as possible take part in these competitions. I hope that your Ministers and senior officials will take active interest in these competitions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2

New Delhi
16 June, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I sent you my last letter eleven days ago. These days have been full of rather heavy Parliamentary work, apart from other work, Parliament, or rather the House of the People, is now much more lively than it used to be previously and requires more attention. We have had discussions on the Railway and the General Budgets. In this connection, when the grants for External Affairs came up, I spoke at some length.¹ I should like to draw your attention to what I said then, as I referred to many important matters of policy. My speech was fairly well reported in the press.

2 It is important that we should be clear about our foreign policy. Some people imagined that there was some shift of it

¹ On 12 June 1952, Nehru said that N A T O, contrary to its declared aims, was now being used by its member countries for defence of their colonial possessions and India took a serious view of these developments. He wished that an increasing number of countries, particularly in Asia, would "make it clear to these great powers that whatever happens they will not enter the arena of warfare." He asserted that India had not "swerved at all from our policy of not aligning with any group." He admitted that India had closer economic and other bonds with the U K and the U S A because "it is simpler for us to get things from America and England or France" but added that "we are perfectly prepared to deal with the Soviet Union and other countries." For full text, see *Parliamentary Debates* (House of the People) Vol. II, Part II, (12 June to 3 July 1952), pp 1628-1629, 1656-1673.

or some variation ² As a matter of fact, we have adhered to our policy and we intend to continue to do so. People, judging from some odd incident, come to wrong conclusions. If we take aid from the United States of America or are otherwise friendly to them, we are said to incline towards that particular group of nations in the cold war that is going on ³ If we send a cultural mission to China and express our appreciation of some of the activities of the new regime in China, we are said to have inclined towards the other group of nations. As a matter of fact, we try our best, within the limits of our policy, to be friendly and co-operative with the countries of both these groups. We have intimate relations—political, cultural and economic—with the United Kingdom. That is not a legacy from the past but is to our interest today. Our whole political structure is largely fashioned after that of the United Kingdom. We use their language extensively. It is natural, therefore, that those connections should continue. That does not mean in the slightest that we subordinate ourselves to the U.K. in any way. Even the Commonwealth relationship does not lessen in the slightest our complete independence of policy or action, as can be seen by anybody who is acquainted with current affairs.

³ It surprises me that some people imagine that we have gone back on our past professions by being associated with

² For example, A. K. Gopalan, Communist Member of Parliament, alleged on 19 May 1952 that the Government was following a pro-American policy, no country could be friendly with national movements in Malaya, Tunisia and Korea while being friendly at the same time with the Governments of Britain, France and the United States.

³ For example, H. N. Mukerjee, Communist Member of Parliament, said in the Lok Sabha on 12 June 1952 that there was a time when Nehru stood forth as the champion of the people but he was now "yoking himself to the chariot wheel of the imperialist machine of Britain and America. We continue as a colony of the Anglo-American combination." Sucheta Kripalani also charged that "we are increasingly losing our initiative for independent action and are walking into the American bloc."

the Commonwealth ⁴ Long ago we determined to become not only independent, but a Republic We have fulfilled our pledge. For the Republic of India to associate itself with any country or group of countries by a formal alliance, even though this involved certain commitments, would not be considered as something coming in the way of our independence. Our association with the Commonwealth is far less than such an alliance might have been It is completely informal and there are no commitments. It brings us certain advantages and there is no reason whatever, so far as I can see, why we should give it up. Where our policy differs from that of the U.K. or any other member of the Commonwealth, we pursue our policy. In regard to one member of the Commonwealth, South Africa, we have not even got diplomatic relations and there has been some kind of a conflict. In international affairs our association with the U.K and the Commonwealth has led far more to our influencing them in a particular direction than their influencing us.

4 With the United States of America, our associations are also fairly close, though not as close as those with the U.K. We trade with them We have received help from them and we have many students there. As I have pointed out previously, there is always a certain risk involved in receiving substantial help from any one country. Therefore we have to be careful It would be folly not to receive the help we so badly need, because we cannot rely upon ourselves.

5 With the U.S.S.R., our contacts are friendly but not close, that is, we have not got much business or other dealings That is not because we avoid such dealings, but because, in the nature of things, it is more difficult for us to deal with them. Where an opportunity offers, we take it With China, partly the same considerations apply. But I think it is true that a variety of circumstances pull India and China towards each other, in spite of differences of forms of government. This is the long pull of geography and history

4 For example, H N Mukerjee stated this in the same speech

We are committed, and I think rightly so, to democratic and parliamentary institutions. That does not necessarily mean that democracy must be rigid and unable to adapt itself to changing conditions. Democracy, apart from its institutions, is a way of Government and life itself. I firmly believe that it is a better way than a dictatorship or authoritarianism. In the long run, dictatorships must, I think, rather stunt the growth of the country. There are initial advantages which are obvious and the outward speed of progress appears to be fast. But it is very doubtful if the essential quality which underlies human progress, that is the creative spirit of man, can develop adequately under an authoritarian system. To some extent, of course, such authoritarian systems as have economic equality as their goal, are initially liberating forces and release tremendous popular energy. That is a great advantage. But if dictatorship continues, the creative spirit may gradually fade away.

9 Democracy is supposed to nurture this creative spirit but if it cannot bring about a release from poverty of large masses of human beings, then that creative spirit can only function in a few. Poverty is after all more restrictive and limiting than anything else. If poverty and low standards continue then democracy, for all its fine institutions and ideals, ceases to be a liberating force. It must therefore aim continuously at the eradication of poverty and its companion unemployment. In other words, political democracy is not enough. It must develop into economic democracy also. The problem before India is to bring about this development as rapidly as possible. In the ultimate analysis, the world will not be governed by theories but by actual results achieved. If India succeeds in achieving these results under a system of political democracy, that indeed would be a great victory not only for India but for democracy. If China succeeds by her own methods, undoubtedly those methods will then attract large numbers of people.

10 Some countries of the West, notably the United Kingdom, tried their utmost since the war to develop this economic democracy under the parliamentary system. They

tried to find a middle path between unrestrained private enterprise and the old capitalism and the socialistic order. I think that the progress made by England, in spite of enormous difficulties, was remarkable and does every credit to her Government and people. It is said that in developing her social schemes, she lived beyond her means and is now suffering because of this. This may partly be true, but I am sure that if she had not done so, her fate would have been worse. She had to bring about a tremendous transformation from the days of the old empire when tribute in various forms flowed to her from all over the world, to her new condition which was very different, in spite of some relics of the empire still continuing. Her Government decided to spend their money and energy on improving the lot of the people generally, and putting an end to unemployment, in greater production, etc. They succeeded in a large measure. Perhaps the effort was a bit too great, but it must be remembered that, in addition to all this, England had to spend large sums of money on armaments. Whether this was justified or not, it is not for me to say. It is this additional burden of armaments that hastened the grave crisis that she has to face today. Even so, England is today a far more stable and disciplined and in a way contented country than almost any in Europe. Parliamentary democracy has justified itself there more than elsewhere. It may be that the burden is too great for her to bear. But I feel that she has still great resources of strength in her and a great capacity to adapt herself.

11 When we consider the problems of India, we have to keep these changing, dynamic, fascinating and sometimes rather terrifying aspects of the modern world before us and try to learn from them and avoid the pitfalls. We may discuss various policies but whatever policy we may adopt, our choice is ultimately limited by our capacity in the present. That capacity will no doubt grow. That takes time and there can be no magic solution of our problems. The main thing is that we have the right objective, that we go in that direction, and that we go as fast as circumstances permit us. We can, to

some extent, measure and weigh these circumstances but there are ever so many uncertain factors in them, both national and international. The biggest uncertain factor is the response of our own people to any particular policy. It is not ultimately money that counts but the labour, enthusiasm and will of the people.

12 As you know, our Planning Commission has been giving a great deal of thought to all these problems. It is revising its draft Five Year Plan and I expect that many changes will be made before it is finalized. Even a final plan has to be reviewed from time to time in view of the changing circumstances. We have to balance reality with idealism, what we can do with what we would like to do. A narrow realistic approach trying to avoid all possible risks is probably, in the final analysis, the least realistic of all, because it ignores those uncertain factors which count for so much. The idealistic approach by itself leads nowhere or rather to frustration in the end. Risks have to be taken, but they have to be measured risks. Great things can never be achieved by the methods of the counting house and the cautious approach of men who lack daring. Nevertheless, the counting house is rather important and cannot be ignored, and daring alone may be inspiring for a while but may become just foolhardiness.

13 In China, recently, there was a great campaign against corruption, nepotism and bureaucracy⁸. From all accounts, this campaign was rather a terrible and ruthless affair. But I confess that I feel rather attracted to any drive against corruption and bureaucracy. Corruption is bad of course. But bureaucracy is perhaps even more insidious as it comes in the way all the time and kills ardour and

8 The Three-Anti Movement (San Fan) campaign was launched in August 1951. The first targets of the campaign were cadres who had defrauded State or other enterprises, and then intellectuals who had not changed their style of work. The movement was later widened to include corrupt relationships between the State and private sectors of the economy.

initiative. In our own way we shall have to fight against these tendencies.

14. Among the major problems that we have to face is the land problem. It is not only our problem but the problem of large parts of Asia. For many years past we have stood for the abolition of the zamindari system. We were held up by the law courts but at last the way is more or less clear. Many of our provinces have already gone far in this direction. I should like to impress on those States, which have not thus far taken any steps towards the abolition of the zamindari system, to do so with great speed. This is an essential preliminary to all progress. This is so both practically and psychologically. It has become a symbol of essential change and we cannot afford to delay in this any longer.

15. The abolition of the zamindari system is therefore most important. But, it must always be remembered that that by itself does not solve the land problem. It is only a necessary preliminary step, a removal of a barrier to reform and the introduction of a just land system. We must therefore give careful thought to the next step which has to come almost immediately after. I shall address you about this separately in my capacity as Chairman of the Planning Commission and I shall ask you to let me have your views about these next steps.⁹ Our objective in this as in other matters is social justice and at the same time greater production. If in trying to bring about social justice, we reduce production, then that social justice itself becomes unstable and without adequate foundation. Mere greater production without social justice is not only wrong in itself but also is unstable and without a strong foundation. How then are we to do this? That is a question which you have to consider. Even after the liquidation of the zamindari system, there will continue a large disparity of holdings of land. Should we try to equalize this progressively and if so how, without doing injury to our production apparatus? Should we aim at co-operative village movement, or large-scale co-operative

9 See post, item 3

farms or individual ownership? These and like questions have to be solved. Conditions differ greatly in India and perhaps a single and general answer will not suit all the States, even though our ultimate objective everywhere might be the same. I should like you to give thought to these matters immediately and to let me have your views.

16 Two days ago, I spoke on the radio about the food situation in India.¹⁰ I shall refer you to my broadcast. I want to make it perfectly clear that we have not basically given up our policy of controls. We do not propose to take any undue risks in this matter. We have removed controls in Madras¹¹ because conditions were very favourable there and we felt that we could take that risk. In Madras and indeed all over India we have large stocks of foodgrains and prices even in the free market are low. This is the time for us to profit by this situation and go some way in solving this food problem. We can build up a large stock and see to it that prices remain low. But we have to be very careful and vigilant all the time. If prices rise appreciably, that will have evil results and we cannot permit it.

17 The recent decisions of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir¹² have excited a great deal of interest all over

10 In his broadcast on 14 June 1952, Nehru said that for the first time there were large stocks of foodgrains and prices had generally come down except of the imported grains. The Government did not propose to give up controls and procurement, though the manner of procurement might vary. "We want to remove irksome restrictions as far as possible and offer incentives to producers to grow more." He also stressed the importance of crop competition and hoped that every village would be covered by it.

11 The Government of Madras announced on 6 June 1952 decontrol of rice and withdrawal of food subsidies and statutory rationing.

12 The Constituent Assembly adopted on 7 June a state flag, and on 12 June 1952 unanimously adopted the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee recommending termination of the institution of hereditary kingship. The Assembly also decided that the future Constitution of the state would be "wholly democratic," and the head of the state "elected."

India ¹³ During the last four and a half years and more, the war and other developments in Kashmir have made people all over India vividly conscious of that beautiful valley. We are not merely interested in it as a part of India but our emotions have been roused and anything that happens there, therefore affects us much more in some ways than developments elsewhere might do. It is easy to understand, therefore, that recent happenings there have created a great deal of interest all over the country. There were some misunderstandings and once misunderstandings come in they are not easy to remove. Some people thought that the leaders of Kashmir were not playing quite fair with India and might even think of a breakaway from India. Naturally this thought was rather painful. As a matter of fact, if one thing is certain it is this that not only the leaders but the great mass of the people in Kashmir want to be associated with India and want the accession of Kashmir to India to continue. So far as we are concerned, whatever our feelings might be, we have made it repeatedly clear that it is for the people of Jammu and Kashmir state to decide about their future. We are not there on sufferance or as an imposition on others. We are there because we were invited to go there to save Kashmir from a brutal invasion and rack and ruin. We have continued to be there because the people of Kashmir wanted us and because of the responsibility for defence that we undertook by virtue of the accession. I have no doubt in my mind that the leaders and the people of Kashmir are anxious to continue this accession to India and if there is a plebiscite on this point it will be in India's favour.

13 The decision of the Constituent Assembly to have an elective head of the state was criticized in the press and by political observers as *ultra vires* of the Indian Constitution which recognized the Maharaja of Kashmir as head of the state of Kashmir. The Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, on 15 June 1952, requested the Central Government not to take any decision on Kashmir "without consulting Parliament and giving opportunity to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to express their wishes."

18. This important fact must therefore be kept in mind when we consider other problems. It should also be remembered that Kashmir's accession to India was, like that of all other states at the beginning, on three subjects only, namely, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications.¹⁴ Much later the other states acceded in regard to many other subjects also. Kashmir remained where it was for a variety of reasons, among them being the fact that the United Nations were seized of this problem and we did not wish to appear to by-pass them in this matter. Indeed, in the Constitution of India, we made special provision for the Jammu and Kashmir state in the transitional provisions.¹⁵ Recently the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir has laid down a directive principle about the head of the state being elective. This, by itself, is not new to those who have been associated with the Kashmir problem. When the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated last year, Sheikh Abdullah,¹⁶ the Prime Minister, stated as much in his inaugural address.¹⁷ The question for us now to consider is how to deal with this matter, keeping in view always the close and firm association

14 See Vol 1, p 6

15 As it finally emerged from the Constituent Assembly, Article 370 limited Parliament's power of legislation in relation to the state to (a) All such matters in the Union and Concurrent List corresponding to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession as are declared by the President after consultation with the Government of the state, and (b) All other matters in those lists so declared with the concurrence of the Government of the state. The residuary powers would vest mainly in the state.

16 For b fn, see Vol 1, p 8

17 On 31 October 1951, Sheikh Abdullah declared that the members had been returned by the people with the hope that they would frame a Constitution which would reflect the aspirations and the aims of the country's fight for independence. On 5 November 1951, Sheikh Abdullah, addressing the Assembly, said "so far as my party is concerned, we are convinced that the institution of monarchy is incompatible with the spirit and need of modern times which demand an egalitarian relationship between one citizen and another."

of Kashmir with India. Some Kashmir Ministers are now in Delhi for a consultation on these matters.¹⁸

19 Meanwhile, Dr. Graham¹⁹ is continuing his talks in New York with our representative and the representative of Pakistan.²⁰ These have not led to any result thus far and all that has happened is a restatement of our respective positions.²¹

20 I have written to you about the discussions in Karachi on the proposal of Pakistan to have a passport system between the two countries. These discussions have led to a large measure of agreement, but some points still remain to be discussed. It has been our desire to facilitate travel between the two countries. Undoubtedly the passport system will bring some difficulties in the way of intending travellers, more especially as between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal, Assam and Tripura. We are trying to have some special provisions for this eastern zone.

21 Ever since this proposal to have passports was made, there has naturally been some consternation among the minorities in Eastern Pakistan as well as West Bengal and many people have migrated. It has often been stated in public that some kind of mass migrations are taking place ever since this proposal was made.²² As a matter of fact, the statistics of movements that we have belie this assertion. The

18 The delegation led by Afzal Beg, the Revenue Minister, arrived in New Delhi on 14 June 1952, and held discussions with the Prime Minister and other Central Ministers for three days.

19 Frank Graham. For b fn see Vol 2, p 386.

20 The talks in New York from 29 May to 16 July 1952 on Graham's demilitarization plan ended inconclusively with both India and Pakistan not agreeing on the question of the quantum of troops to be retained by them on either side of the ceasefire line.

21 See Vol 2, pp 585, 600-601.

22 This was admitted by C C Biswas on 22 May 1952.

latest daily figures of movement between East Bengal and West Bengal are as follows

	Hindus	Muslims
From East to West Bengal	5,691	2,474
From West to East Bengal	7,573	2,967

22 On the 7th June, there was held in Delhi a conference of tribal representatives²³ I attach importance to this conference, because this was, so far as I know, the first attempt to consider these major problems affecting the tribal folk in a large way. There has been so much vague talk about the tribal people, that some clarification was necessary. We must remember that they form a large part of India's population, that they vary greatly amongst themselves, that their way of life is often very different from that of others. We have to help them in every way. But we have to take special care not to impose ourselves or our ways upon them. In particular, we must not allow them to be exploited by others. In other words, we require a clear-cut tribal policy. The talk of integrating them into other areas has some justification, and yet it has to be guarded against, for it might lead us in the wrong direction. The talk of isolating the tribes and treating them as museum specimens is even worse. We have to strike a middle path and we have to develop those areas as fast as we can.

23 The question of linguistic provinces has again been raised. Swami Sitaram²⁴ of Andhra undertook a three weeks' fast, which is, I believe, just over. I confess I do not at all understand or appreciate this method of dealing with a complicated administrative problem. So far as we are concerned, we have made it perfectly clear that we are

²³ The conference on the problems of tribal people was inaugurated by the President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, in New Delhi on 7 June 1952.

²⁴ G. Sitaramasastry (Swami Sitaram) (1885-1956). Prominent Congressman of Andhra, Secretary, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, 1921-1922. He fasted from 25 May to 15 June 1952 to draw attention to the demand for the creation of a separate Andhra Province.

prepared to help in the formation of the Andhra Province, as of any other, provided there is general agreement among the parties concerned. It seems to me obvious that we cannot create linguistic provinces at the point of the bayonet, if I may say so, or by compulsion of large numbers of unwilling people. While Swami Sitaram fasts for an Andhra Province, I get agitated telegrams from people in Rayalaseema protesting against this fast and saying that, if necessary, they will fast against the creation of an Andhra Province.²⁵ The real difficulty, however, concerns the city of Madras. Some of the Andhra leaders insist on having it; the Tamil leaders, on the other hand, say that they will never lose it, whatever happens. What then are we to do about it? Compel the Andhras or compel or coerce the Tamils? A proposal has sometimes been made that Madras might be separated from both and made into a small separate State. This proposal was considered by the Dhar Committee²⁶ some years ago. They said that while it was conceivable that an international centre like Bombay might be separated, they did not think that Madras should be considered in that way. It was too intimately connected with provincial life to be isolated from it.

24 You may have noticed that in February last I inaugurated what is called the National Art Treasures Fund,²⁷ with the object of acquiring and preserving for the nation art

25 Most of the members of Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee from Rayalaseema and Nellore opposed the formation of an Andhra State unless the city of Madras was included in such a province.

26 The Linguistic Provinces Commission, also known as the Dhar Committee, was appointed on 17 June 1948 with S K Dhar as Chairman and Pannalal and Jagat Narayan Lal as members. While the Committee was against the formation of linguistic provinces, it recognized that there existed a real and a great demand for the formation of Andhra Province which if not granted would lead to much disappointment.

27 Inaugurated on 23 February 1952, the Fund was a joint co-operative effort of the Central and the State Governments. The Fund, administered by a non-official body, was set up to purchase national art treasures for preserving them in suitable museums.

objects of national importance which are in danger of neglect, deterioration or total loss. This is important. It is a duty that we owe not only to ourselves but to future generations. I am afraid that most of us, immersed as we are in our political problems, forget the basic importance of culture and art. We have not even got a proper National Museum in Delhi, although we have got a fine collection in Rashtrapati Bhavan. If this National Art Treasures Fund is to succeed, we must have popular interest and support and money for it. The money can come from the Central Government, from the State Governments, and from the people. Thus far, the State Governments have not contributed much. Some States, I was sorry to notice, had even refused to contribute to the Fund. I would urge you to appreciate the importance of this and to extend your generous co-operation to the Fund.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 June, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

In my fortnightly letter of June 16 I mentioned that I intended to write to you separately on the subject of land reform on behalf of the Planning Commission and to ask you to let me have your views. The abolition of zamindari was a necessary step before other reforms could be effected. Our problems of agriculture and rural poverty, however, are very much deeper than the existence of intermediary or other rights. We have, therefore, to approach them in a fundamental way.

In recent months there has been a growing feeling that a ceiling on existing agricultural holdings should be imposed, so that disparities in the ownership of land may be reduced.¹ Action of this nature in respect of land is bound to be followed by similar action in other fields, though its details will necessarily differ. A ceiling on holdings by itself may have certain psychological advantages, but it might injure production, at any rate, for a period. We have to think in terms of large changes which we can bring about in an ordered, democratic manner, and which will result in greater production and an equality of opportunity for all sections of our people. Naturally, there are many difficult

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 The Socialist Party on 27 May 1952 favoured a nationwide peaceful movement to achieve the objective of equitable re-distribution of land. The Gandhi Sangha Conference called upon the Government on 31 May to amend the Constitution so that land was acquired from the landlords without payment of any compensation and distributed equally among the tillers before 31 March 1953.

questions involved and we have to consider these with the utmost care, exercising such caution as may be necessary and yet not shirking bold measures. Once we have made up our minds on the course of action that we have to adopt, we have to go all out to prepare the minds of our people for the change and to proceed as fast as we can persuade them and carry them with us.

In the Planning Commission and outside, we are at present giving much thought to the land problem. I should like you to consult your colleagues and let me have your suggestions within ten days. I enclose a note² prepared in the Planning Commission which sets out the various issues and considerations which have to be kept in view.³ I should like you to consider these as carefully as possible.

I realize that it is not quite fair for me to send you this long note dealing with one of our most complicated problems and to expect a reply within a few days. But there is no help for it. The Planning Commission are finalizing their report and cannot delay it much longer. I shall be very grateful to you if you could send me as full a reply as is possible in the circumstances by the end of this month. You have to deal with the questions raised with the data with you. There is no time for you to collect more data. Your answers therefore may not be quite as full as they would otherwise have been. Therefore some reply should be sent to me within the next ten days. If you like, send me a fuller reply somewhat later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

² Not printed

³ The Planning Commission sought the views of the State Governments on imposition of land ceilings. It stated that such measures should be considered not in isolation merely to reduce disparities in the ownership of land but as part of a scheme of reorganization of the agricultural economy based on "a system of co-operative village management," subject to "the assessment of the various social and economic considerations" involved in the process of change.

New Delhi
21 June, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you know, our activities are becoming more and more planning-minded. Almost every proposal we have is considered from the point of view of our general plan which is being finalized. In particular, every proposal which has an economic or financial significance is so considered. Matters relating to food are so important and have such large consequences that these are specially considered, not only from the point of view of immediate difficulty but their larger consequences.

I am writing to you to invite your co-operation in this matter so that no step might be taken by your Government in the economic plane which might have these consequences in regard to our planning without reference to us. I include in this even matters which are entirely within your Government's competence. We do not wish to come in your way, but we do want as much co-ordination of our policies as possible. I would therefore request you to inform us before you take any step which might have economic consequences in the country. We should like our Department of Economic Affairs and Planning Commission to consider it before it is finalized. I am anxious that there should be no delay when a reference is made.

A somewhat unnecessary argument has arisen recently about control or decontrol of foodgrains because of the steps

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

taken by the Madras Government with our concurrence.¹ I made it perfectly clear in my broadcast² that this did not involve any major change in our policy which continued to be one of general control. But owing to the special circumstances of Madras we decided to lift controls there for the present and to watch results.³ This was safe because there were large stocks there and prices were falling and arrangements were being made for fair price shops to be opened.

Recently the newspapers announced in banner headlines that control had been abolished in Bihar.⁴ I was surprised to read this because I knew nothing about it. As a matter of fact what the Bihar Government had done was nothing very much. It was a minor variation of their policy. But it was so announced that it led many people to believe that some major change had been brought about. This was wrong and as a result a wrong psychology was possibly created in the country to the effect that controls were going step by step.

This kind of wrong and exaggerated publicity can do us great harm and therefore we have not only to be careful about what we do but what we say.

1 The abandonment of statutory rationing on 6 June 1952, while hailed by some prominent Congressmen as a step in the right direction which would save poor producers from a lot of harassment at the hands of the procurement staff, was described by P. Sundarayya, Communist Member of Parliament, as heralding "the complete fiasco of the government food policy pursued over last five years."

2 See ante, p. 22.

3 Nehru stated in his broadcast on 14 June: "We have taken this step in Madras because conditions are peculiarly favourable for it there." He hoped that steps taken in Madras would prove successful and that it would not be necessary to revert to a stricter system of controls.

4 The Bihar Government announced on 18 June the removal of restrictions on movement of foodgrains throughout the State except in certain parts of Ranchi, Manbhum and Santhal districts. Also, the levy on paddy and wheat for the current year was suspended and demand notices were also withdrawn and the wholesale issue prices of wheat and milo were reduced.

21 June, 1952

33

I invite your co-operation in this. I should like to make it clear again that we have no intention of doing away with controls except in limited areas for limited objectives where conditions are wholly favourable and there are no risks. All our planning would collapse if we went in for a policy of decontrol all over. This decontrol may result in our losing control of the situation itself and we cannot take that risk.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
5 July, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

In the domestic sphere, probably the most important development has related to food controls. Gradually, many of the restrictions imposed in various States have been relaxed. Madras State was the first to go in this direction.¹ Others have followed—Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Saurashtra.² In some other States also there has been some kind of relaxation.³ Generally speaking, this relaxation has consisted in removal of inter-district barriers. In some industrial towns, the rationing system has been either suspended or varied greatly and fair price shops have been started.

2 All this has created a widespread impression that we are giving up controls and going back to a policy of decontrol. There has been considerable appreciation of this change. And yet, I should like to make it clear, as Food Minister⁴ emphasized in Parliament,⁵ that we are definitely committed

1 See *ante*, p 22

2 Decontrol of foodgrains in Bihar, withdrawal of price control and ban on the movement of foodgrains in U P, and relaxation of control in Saurashtra were announced between 1 and 18 July 1952

3 On 24 July 1952, the Punjab Government relaxed some provisions of the rationing laws and announced gradual decontrol in certain urban areas of the state

4 Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. For b. fn. see Vol 1, p 217

5 On 1 July 1952, Kidwai said that while he favoured a controlled economy, controls had hardly served during the last ten years the interests of the common consumers. The higher prices in ration shops areas compared with those in the open market had made decontrolling necessary. Proper checks could offset any dangers arising out of decontrol.

to a policy of control. Indeed there can be no effective planning without a measure of control. It is not, therefore, controls that we are giving up, but in some cases the method of control that we have followed thus far. It is true also that there has been a relaxation of controls in some respects, because the situation demanded this and permitted it. The two dominant features of the situation are: (i) large stocks of foodgrains with us, both home grown and imported and (ii) a tendency for prices to go down even in the open market. This has enabled us to take a step without any real risk and we have, as far as we can, protected ourselves against an untoward movement of prices by opening fair price shops wherever necessary. Our machinery of controls will be kept intact, though it may be reduced in numbers. The effective procurement season is over now and the next one will start many months later. We have thus this interval to watch developments and to prepare ourselves for them. It is clear that procurement, in some form or other, will be necessary in future, because we have to supply foodgrains to deficit areas.

3. The system of controls that we have been following in some States has not only been troublesome and sometimes somewhat oppressive but has also been expensive. The expenditure incurred on this system, as was pointed out by the Food Minister, raised prices of foodgrains considerably. A reduction of this expenditure itself will lead somewhat to the lowering of prices. But we have to proceed warily.

4. We contracted to import about four million tons of foodgrains from abroad this year. This itself was a much smaller figure than originally asked for by the various States. We now find that even this figure was considerably more than was necessary. Partly this is due to the fact that the removal of subsidies on food brought out much hidden grain. Partly because we had a fairly good harvest in some parts of India. In any event, it showed that our estimates of deficits of foodstuffs were exaggerated and with proper organization we ought to be in a position to lessen the quantity of our imports in future. It is probable that by the end of this year, we shall have over two million tons of

foodgrains to carry over This raises the question of stocking it and we have been hard put to make adequate arrangements for this We have had large godowns built at extra speed near Bombay

5 The position, therefore, in regard to food stocks in India might be considered to be a fairly safe one and the future outlook is more hopeful than we have had for some time past. Much always depends upon the rains and the harvest Thus far, the monsoon has been fairly good and widespread and we expect a good harvest. But we dare not calculate always on a good harvest, the most we can expect is an average one In a large country like India, there is likely to be drought or some natural disaster in some part or other. We must be prepared for this

6 The Central Government has gone, as far as it can possibly go, in the direction of reducing prices of foodgrains This reduction will be for the whole country and not merely for particular areas where scarcity prevails State Governments will be helped considerably by this reduction to meet the difficult situation that they have had to face The difficulty really comes from a lack of purchasing power among some sections of the community We can only get over this by providing productive work That productive work itself is expensive and we cannot do all that we want to do Yet it may be possible to combine Government effort with voluntary or semi-voluntary labour

7 The major problem before us, now as ever, is how to co-ordinate our aspirations and urgent wishes with our resources. It is here that planning comes in and we continue to give a great deal of thought to the question of raising additional resources so as to add to work, employment and production, without casting too great a burden on our finances and without leading to inflation We have had long discussions with the Planning Commission on this subject and the Commission expressed its willingness and indeed its eagerness to go far But however much it might want to go ahead, there are some inherent limitations which it cannot

forget, and there are some serious risks which it must avoid taking.

8. We have also been conferring with the Planning Commission a great deal about the land problem.⁶ A few days ago, on July 1st, Uttar Pradesh celebrated the final end of the zamindari and talukdari system. That was a great date for Uttar Pradesh and for India and it was suitably celebrated all over that largest of our provinces, which is one-fifth of India just as India is one fifth of the world. Even as we put an end to the zamindari system in Uttar Pradesh or Bihar or elsewhere, we realize that other steps have to follow. What are these other steps going to be? I have written to you separately about them and asked you a multitude of questions.⁷

9. The next step appears to be some kind of redistribution of land so as to put an end to large holdings. Much is being said about this and Acharya Vinoba Bhave's⁸ tremendous pilgrimage from village to village in India has given a great impetus to this demand of redistribution of land. It is a legitimate demand and appears reasonable. But, when examined in detail, the problem is not quite so simple. As a matter of fact, with the abolition of the zamindari system, the large estates end in India. It may be said that there is now a fairly widespread and relatively even distribution of land, except for a very small percentage. Examining the figures for Uttar Pradesh, we found that about 86 per cent of the land consisted of holdings of under 25 acres. The remaining 14 per cent or so was divided up in about 150,000 holdings. If we fixed a ceiling of 25 acres and gave that much land out of the surplus of the bigger holdings (above 25 acres) to those who hold it now or their family members who share it, practically nothing is left over for distribution to those who have no land. Thus, by any such system of distribution, we do not really help the landless much, though, to a slight

6 See *ante*, pp 29-30

7 See *ante*, pp 29-30

8 For b fn see Vol. 2, p 397.

extent, we might do so. We could help the landless more by developing uncultivated land

10 Conditions differ greatly in different States and it is a little difficult to generalize. It is for this reason that I have asked you to supply us full particulars as you can about your State. It is clear that we have to go towards a more even distribution of land. It is also clear that we cannot possibly absorb the landless in land and we have to provide other occupations for them. Any step that we might take should not reduce production because that ultimately will lead to unemployment and other difficulties. We have to encourage modern and up-to-date methods of cultivation. Splitting up farms which are using these modern methods and producing results, will thus be harmful from the point of view of production. While all this is important, it remains true, nevertheless, that any large holding is an irritation to the landless and is psychologically wrong. How then are we to proceed about it? For one thing we can limit future holdings. We might in that connection limit even inheritance which leads to larger holdings than the ceiling we might fix. We may also, where possible, divide up certain holdings. Ultimately, however, there is no way out in India with its huge population, than to have co-operation in land. These cooperatives may be of many kinds. We may have the village as a co-operative unit or we may have smaller units. In the U.P., they have, in addition, formed what they call *Gaon Samaj*, a village organization, consisting of all the residents including artisans and the landless. These people will inherit, generally speaking, the rights of the zamindars. If these *Gaon Samajs* develop, as we hope they will, they become a new organ of power so far as land is concerned and any policy affecting land could be put through by them. Indeed the initiative should come from them and we should encourage this exercise of initiative. Even for purposes other than those connected with land, these *Gaon Samajs* can become important elements in our public life.

11 I feel more and more that we must function more from below than from the top. The top is important of course and

in the modern world a large measure of centralization is inevitable. Yet too much centralization means decay at the roots and ultimately a withering of the branches and leaves and flowers. Therefore, we have to encourage these basic organs in the village.

12 You will have heard of the Bharat Sewak Samaj,⁹ an organization which is meant to be non-political and which is fathered by the Planning Commission. Its aim is to encourage voluntary service of the community. I should like you to draw the attention of your colleagues to this organization which, if successful, can make a great difference to our country. There was a debate in Parliament yesterday¹⁰ in the course of which the Bharat Sewak Samaj was mentioned. It was criticized as some kind of a party organization bolstered up by the Congress with Government money. I made it clear in my reply that the charges were completely baseless.¹¹ First of all, it is not meant to be a party organization and we welcome every individual who wants to do active constructive work of a non-political kind. Secondly, it is not going to be financed by Government at all. What might happen is that if some work, like the building up of a road, is taken up by local volunteers, the State Government might provide some facilities for that work being done. This applies not to the Bharat Sewak Samaj only but to any group of volunteers that are prepared to do that kind of work.

9 Set up in 1952, it sought to mobilize the people's voluntary support and participation in the execution of the national plans

10 V G Deshpande of the Hindu Mahasabha wished to know whether members belonging to organizations such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, the Communist Party and the Scheduled Caste Federation could join the Samaj. He feared that the Samaj might become an exclusive preserve of the Congress

11 Denying that the Samaj's activities were financed by the Government, Nehru clarified that "those who want to take part, not to exploit it for political purposes, can come in, whether they are in the Congress or any other party. But we do want to keep it outside the arena of controversial politics."

13 The point is to encourage voluntary service for the community. I have received a report from an economist member¹² of our goodwill mission to China. This report is factual and valuable and I hope to send a copy of it to you later. The importance of this report lies in its pointing out how manpower has been used in China in recent years for great productive schemes. China has much less of machinery and big industry than India has, except for parts of Manchuria which are highly developed industrially. Their problems are somewhat similar to ours and their resources are not greater and, in many ways, are less. Therefore, the way they have tackled their problems is of importance to us and we might be able to learn something from them, as they might learn something from us.

14 The situation in Korea has deteriorated greatly because of the bombing of the power plants on the Yalu river.¹³ As you know, the whole question of a ceasefire and truce there had got stuck up over the exchange of prisoners of war. In this matter we have tried to help without appearing to interfere.¹⁴ We were placed in a favourable position to do so, because our contacts with the powers concerned, namely, China on the one hand and the U.K. and the U.S.A., on the other, are friendly. No other country is in exactly that position. I cannot tell you in this letter what steps we have been taking, but we have been in constant touch with the countries concerned over this matter and it seemed to us that success was at last not too far off. Just at that moment this bombing took place and the situation has now changed. I cannot say that all hope of truce is over, but undoubtedly the difficulties are greater. The latest news has been that the

12 V. K. R. V. Rao

13 On 23 and 24 June 1952 by the U.N. air force

14 Nehru stated on 22 June 1952 that India would be "very happy" to help in settling the problem of the exchange of prisoners of war as "being favourably situated," she could "approach in a friendly way all the parties concerned," and the Government were seeking clarification from the U.S. Government about their offer to send military observers to investigate the conditions in the Kojé camps.

Chinese and the North Koreans have made some proposals in a secret session at Panmunjom. Probably in the course of the next few days we might know the result of this new approach. These truce talks at Panmunjom have gone on now for over a year. I rather doubt if this stalemate can continue for very long. Decisions have to be taken this way or that.

15. It is true that the successful conclusion of a truce in Korea will have a powerful result and will relieve tension all over the world. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that that is only an initial step and exceedingly difficult problems will still remain to be solved. The very first problem to be faced then will be that of the withdrawal of foreign armies from Korea. This will not be an easy matter. Then will come the political questions—the future of Korea, Formosa, the place of the People's Government of China in the United Nations. Each one of these bristles with difficulties.

16. On the other side of the world lies the problem of Germany which also appears at present to be almost insoluble. Each of the contending parties pull their own way and hope to get Germany to their side. Meanwhile, the Germans undoubtedly want a united Germany and want to develop enough strength to be able to play their own game. In the after-war years, they were naturally in a very bad state and more or less accepted facts as they were. Gradually, they have built themselves up and their industry is flourishing now. They preferred to build up their industries even to building houses for the houseless. It must be remembered that the problem of housing in post-war Germany was terrific, because a large part of the country had been laid waste by incessant bombing. Now that Germany has built up her economy to some extent, she is becoming politically more assertive. This process of assertion will, no doubt, grow in Germany, as also in Japan. A time may well come when the rival contestants for the body and soul of Germany might be increasingly ignored by the Germans themselves, who may incline this way or that way to some extent, but are in the final analysis Germans, caring for their own country.

and not for any other. In any event, the situation in Germany continues to be a dangerous one and the recent moves of the Western Powers have not eased that situation at all ¹⁵

17. The bombing of the power plants on the Yalu river, distressing as it is from the human point of view, has a larger significance. When news of this appeared, there was a loud outcry in England¹⁶ about the U.K. Government not being consulted. Lord Alexander,¹⁷ the U K Defence Minister, was actually in Tokyo at the time and he did not know. Subsequently, the amazing statement was made by General Mark Clark,¹⁸ the American and U N Commander of the U N. forces in Korea, that he did not know about this bombing or else he would have told Lord Alexander. This means that local commanders can take a serious step without reference even to their Commander-in-Chief and much less to their Government or the U.N. That would be a serious enough matter if only one country was involved. When a number of countries are involved, it means that some local commander might take a step which might plunge the world into war, without the other countries being consulted or knowing anything about it. It means possibly dragging the United Nations as a whole into world war. This is a very serious thought. India is not involved in

15 Restoration of sovereign status to West Germany and her joining the European defence system following an agreement with the Allied Powers on 26 May 1952 provoked East Germany to "seal off" the Soviet zone on the West German side. Otto Grotewohl, the East German Premier, said on 8 May 1952 that the signing of the contractual agreements would "produce in Germany the same conditions as exist in Korea and might result in a fratricidal war among the Germans."

16 The Labour Party protested in the House of Commons on 24 June 1952 against Britain not having been consulted before the bombings.

17. Harold, first Earl Alexander of Tunis (1891-1969) General in the British Army, field commander in Italy and Burma in the Second World War, Field-Marshal, 1944, Governor-General of Canada, 1946-52, Minister of Defence, 1952-54.

18 Mark Wayne Clark (1896-1984) American general, commander in Italy in the Second World War, Deputy Commander-in-Chief, U N and U.S. Far East Command, 1952-53.

any way in the Korean war. We have no troops there. We sent an ambulance unit, which, incidentally, has won high praise for its humane work. But we have made it clear that we are not parties to this war in Korea. Therefore, we have no right to complain that we have not been consulted about any military step. But we are members of the United Nations and anything that affects the United Nations therefore affects us.

18 All this indicates the progressive change in the structure and manner of working of the United Nations. From being a more or less universal organization, it has become a more limited one, keeping out some important countries. That was not the original idea at all when President Roosevelt¹⁹ and others started it. Secondly, it is becoming increasingly an organization in some ways connected with war and therefore less and less an organ of peace, which it was meant to be. As a great organization devoted to peace, it was given by its Charter some sanctions to control trouble-makers.²⁰ But, essentially, its work lay in pursuing methods of conciliation and mediation. Having refused to admit a great power like China, it was subsequently driven into military action against that country. And now a position has been created which at the best is a complete deadlock and, at the worst, may lead to widespread war, and war on behalf of the United Nations.

19 I pointed out this progressive change in the U.N. when the Tunisian dispute was refused a hearing in the Security Council.²¹ At that time I said that it seemed highly improper that two or three countries could hold up the United Nations and prevent it even discussing something. Now it appears that some enterprising and aggressive general can hurl the

19 Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945) 32nd President of the United States of America, 1933-45

20 The Charter stipulated that to maintain international peace and security the United Nations could take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and to bring about by peaceful means adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations

21 On 14 April 1952 See Vol 2, p 584

United Nations into war and the peoples of the world might be driven like dumb cattle towards disaster That is a thought which is highly disturbing One might almost think that the world is in the grip of some great and malignant force which is inevitably driving it, as in a Greek tragedy, towards this disaster I have been reading some books about Korea by well-known newspaper correspondents there These correspondents were not sensation-mongers and they have given the evidence of their own eyes The picture they give is full of horror After reading that, I could not conceive how anyone could think in terms of war

20. The tragedy of it is that all this happens when the world is making enormous progress in technology Indeed, it is something more than technological and it is invading all kinds of human activities, including those of the mind The machine grows bigger and bigger and becomes more human, while the human being becomes more and more like a machine and less and less human

21 In South Africa, the movement originally started by people of Indian descent against their segregation has gradually become absorbed in a much wider movement including Africans This development is of great significance Indeed, as I have often pointed out to you, the continent of Africa is likely to play an important part in the coming years There is a growth of mass political consciousness and a resentment at racial laws and practice It is clear that the millions of Africans cannot be forcibly suppressed for long The big question for the future is whether these problems of Africa will be solved peacefully and co-operatively or will result in terrible racial wars and blood-baths If the Malan²² policy is pursued, then the second alternative appears inevitable In some parts of Africa, notably those governed by the U K , there has been some realization of the changes coming over the continent and some progress has been made This has been notably so

22 Daniel Malan For b fn see Vol 1, p 346

in British West Africa.²³ In British East Africa there are some hopeful signs and at the same time there are other signs which are not hopeful. Among the latter is the recent decision to bring about communal electorates.²⁴ Most Indians in British East Africa fought against the introduction of these communal electorates there, but in spite of their protesting this was introduced.²⁵ There is a movement, chiefly in East Africa, for what is called the development of a multi-racial society, i.e., where Africans, Indians and Europeans function co-operatively. How far this will succeed, I do not know.

22 The entire hope for the future of Africa lies in some such objective being aimed at and attained. Indians occupy a peculiar place in Africa. By themselves, of course, they can make little difference and they can be squeezed out, if the others so wish. They can only really remain there with the goodwill of the Africans. Our policy for many years past in Africa has been to encourage co-operation between Indians and Africans. Indeed, we have gone so far as to emphasize that we do not propose to ask for any special privileges for Indians in Africa, that we are not going to protect any Indian vested interests there which does harm to the Africans. This is not only a wise policy from the point of view of our ideals, but is strictly practical even from the point of view of intelligent self-interest. Because we have taken up this attitude, Africans have looked more and more towards India. They are afraid of Europeans and Americans and others because they fear that they might exploit them. They think that Indians will not do so and so they look to us and expect us to help them. They require a great deal of help from outside because they are backward in many ways. A

²³ On 10 March 1952, Kwame Nkrumah was designated as Prime Minister of the Gold Coast (Ghana) under the new Constitution approved by Britain. See also Vol 2, p 357.

²⁴ The bill on separate electorates was passed by the Kenyan Legislative Council on 20 December 1951. See also Vol 2, p 542.

²⁵ See Vol 2, pp 356-357.

small gesture that we made some years ago of giving scholarships in India to African students was greatly appreciated. We intend increasing the number of scholarships. It is of the highest importance for the future that there should be co-operation between Indians and Africans in Africa and that Indians there help the Africans in every way to develop themselves. In doing so they will help themselves, but they must place the interest of the Africans first. For business people this outlook is not normally easy. Nevertheless, they have to develop it, realizing that it is in their interest also in the end.

23 When I say that Indians and Africans should co-operate, I do not mean that we should set up a joint front against the Europeans and others. Our ideal should be as stated above co-operation between all the three in order to build up what has been called a multi-racial society. Even if that ideal is difficult to attain and others do not fall in line, nevertheless, we should pursue it. Joint fronts may be in self-defence as in South Africa. Even then the ideal should not be forgotten. We must remember that there are many people among the Europeans who sympathize with that ideal. In South Africa today there are a large number of Europeans who are against Dr Malan's policy. They should be befriended. Perhaps the greatest and bravest of the champions of the Africans today is the Reverend Michael Scott.²⁶ Such individuals are of the salt of the earth, but in order to have their support we must aim rightly and with vision and not be diverted into wrong action by the passion of the moment.

24 In Ceylon after the elections, there appears to be a

²⁶ Rev G Michael Scott (1907-1983) British clergyman, represented some tribes of South West Africa at U N, 1946, expelled from South Africa, 1950, Director, Africa Bureau, London, 1952-68, member, Nagaland peace mission, 1964-66

certain lowering of tension ²⁷ The problem of Indians there is still unsolved. But there are certain indications that the present Government of Ceylon wants to do something towards a solution. It is natural that people in India should be greatly exercised when they hear about the treatment of Indians in Ceylon. Some of our politicians have delivered rather fiery speeches and some of our newspapers²⁸ have written articles commending all kinds of stern action. This seems to me a wrong approach. We must not lose perspective. Ceylon is a little island at the tip of India. Culturally and historically, it is almost a part of India. The Sinhalese look up to India as their holy land because of the Buddha. But they are a little afraid of this great big giant of a country overlooking them and fear always leads to wrong action. If we threaten them, we only increase their fear. Therefore, I have avoided speaking the language of threats and have tried to be friendly to them even when they have acted in an improper way. We have to be firm of course and not give up any of the basic rights that we claim. It must be remembered, however, that when we claim citizenship for people of Indian descent there, we naturally conclude that they are not Indian nationals. We have every right to speak for Indian nationals abroad, but we have no such clear right to speak for those whom we ourselves do not consider our nationals. In the old days when all of us were British subjects, the position was different and we claimed equality of treatment whether in Ceylon or Malaya or in other parts of the old British territories. Now we deal with independent nations

²⁷ The Prime Minister, Dudley Senanayake, told the deputation of the Ceylon Congress leaders on 11 June 1952 that their representation regarding modification of the Citizenship Act and restoration of the right of franchise to all those Indians who had a right to vote in 1949 would be considered after he had received the report on the Indian residents from the commissioner for registration. He added that a non-Congress member had been nominated to represent Indian interests because they had been opposed to nomination. Senanayake also promised an enquiry into the allegations of police violence.

²⁸ For example, see *The Hindu* of 21 May 1952.

which have their own citizenship and nationality laws. For us to claim that somebody must be made a national of another country is rather anomalous. But, of course, this is only part of the picture. In Ceylon the question of people of Indian descent has a long story behind it and there have been many agreements between Governments and assurances given. We have every right, therefore, to look at this problem in the light of this past history and to claim that Indians in Ceylon should be given full citizenship rights.

25 In Nepal I regret to say that conditions have deteriorated and the present position is not at all satisfactory. A year and a half ago, a hundred-year old autocracy was suddenly ended.²⁹ It is easier to end something than to build something new. The history of the autocratic rule of the Ranas in Nepal is full of intrigue, rivalry, murder and assassination. The Ranas have gone, so far as political power is concerned, but out of this background it has not been easy to build up a democratic set-up. Rivalries and intrigues continue and small groups fight for power. India occupies a very special position in regard to Nepal. We acknowledge, of course, the full independence of Nepal. But we have made it perfectly clear to all concerned that we have this special position and we do not approve of other foreign powers interfering in Nepal. I have also stated in Parliament that from the point of view of the defence of India, the Himalayas are our frontier in the north and north-east.³⁰ We have had no desire to interfere internally in Nepal. But because Nepal lacks trained personnel for any kind of work, we have been asked for help and we have given it. Even now there is a demand for a large group of civil officers to go there to help them.³¹ We

29 See Vol 2, p 324

30 For example, Nehru's speeches in Parliament on 17 March and 6 December 1950. Also see Vol 2, pp 48-49

31 Two Indian experts helped Nepal from April 1951 for ten months to reorganize her administration. A team of senior officers to advise on administrative reorganization and on economic matters was also sent to Nepal in May 1952.

have hesitated to send them because of our desire not to get entangled in their internal troubles. At Nepal's request we have sent some military officers and men to train their Army.³² We are building their airfield in Kathmandu and we have undertaken to build the road from India to Nepal.³³

26 It is curious and rather disconcerting that in spite of the help that we have given and our desire not to interfere, these groups and people in Nepal carry on an agitation against India and create anti-India feeling.³⁴ This is depressing. As a matter of fact, almost everybody in Nepal realizes that Indian help is necessary. But India becomes a pretext and excuse for some of the opposition groups to run down their own present Government. The Nepal Congress, which is the popular body behind the Government there, has itself shown certain disruptive tendencies recently.³⁵ Some areas of Nepal are hardly under the control of the Government and we have had some trouble,³⁶ in the shape of widespread dacoities and the like, across our borders in the Terai.

27 I wrote to you last month about Kashmir. So far as Dr Graham is concerned, no fresh development has taken place. But there has been much talk in India about internal happenings in Kashmir, and more especially as to what the

32 On 27 February 1952, the Indian military mission had gone to Nepal.

33 The first jeepable road connecting Kathmandu with Raxaul on the Indian frontier, built under the supervision of the Indian army engineers with funds provided by India, was opened on 11 December 1953.

34 The Gurkha Dal, a group of conservative Ranas, the Praja Parishad, and the Nepalese Communist Party had all characterized the ruling government as subservient to India.

35 The ministerial and non-ministerial groups in the Nepali Congress fell out with each other. Some Ministers also opposed the Prime Minister and showed sympathy with the non-ministerial wing. Moreover, the non-Congress Ministers, representing powerful interests in the Cabinet, began to pull the Government in different directions.

36 With total breakdown of law and order and lack of coordination between the central and district administrations, conditions of anarchy prevailed in several districts. The worst-affected places were in the Terai region.

Constituent Assembly there is going to do. While undoubtedly Kashmir became an integral part and a constituent unit of the Republic of India after her accession, the position in regard to certain matters remained fluid. We could not finalize it because of the reference to the United Nations. Because of this, when we were giving the final touches to our Constitution in November 1949, we dealt with Kashmir in some transitory provisions which were added on to the Constitution at the end. In effect, these transitory provisions kept Kashmir out of the purview of a great part of our Constitution for the time being and the President was authorized to make the necessary changes when it was opportune to do so. Matters remained in this somewhat uncertain and fluid condition. The functioning of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir naturally brought about a situation when some of these matters, if not all, have to be finalized. This is the real issue before us today which we are discussing with the leaders of Kashmir.³⁷ It is not a question so much of the subjects of accession. At present they are three, which is the absolute minimum. They may later be extended. We need not go into that at this stage. The other question about the headship of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, though important, is also not a vital one. What is really important now is to define a little more clearly the basic relation of Kashmir to India. There are certain consequences that follow inevitably from partnership in the Indian Union such as common citizenship, etc. All this has to be cleared up. We hope to have talks about this in the course of the next few days.

28 Meanwhile, we have had some rather disconcerting reports about movements of Pakistan troops towards our borders. It is possible that these movements are not abnormal. Nevertheless, the near presence of those troops has to be watched by us and provided for.

29 As you know, the leader of the Socialist Party of India,

³⁷ See *ante*, pp 23-25

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan,³⁸ has undertaken a three-week fast ³⁹ That is a personal matter about which I have nothing to say except that I regret it. But this has somehow been connected with a six-year old dispute which is now being made a reason for a possible strike by the Posts and Telegraphs workers. Greatly as I regret Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's fast, I must say that I fail to understand how political questions can be solved by this method. Sometime ago there was a fast by Swami Sitaram about the formation of an Andhra Province.⁴⁰ The Andhras may have every right to have province and for my part I am wholly agreeable. But how are we to make progress if this method of fasting is introduced in order to bring pressure on Government to decide some major administrative and complicated change?

³⁰ There has been some argument about Government breaking their word given to the Posts and Telegraphs workers. The Food Minister, who was then the Communications Minister, and I, have made it perfectly clear that no such assurance was given as is claimed.⁴¹ It may be, of course, that there was some misunderstanding. Our word should be accepted. I do not say that other people are deliberately distorting something that we said. They should at least give us credit also for bonafides in this matter. We are perfectly prepared to consider any questions on their

³⁸ (1902-1979) A prominent socialist and sarvodaya leader, one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party, 1934, member, Congress Working Committee, 1936, after 1947 for some time leading member of the Socialist Party, in detention, 1975-77, one of the founders of the Janata Party, 1977

³⁹ From 22 June to 14 July 1952. The decision to undertake the personal and self-purificatory fast was taken following the failure of negotiations with the Minister for Communications regarding payment of wages to postmen and other lower grade staff for the period of the strike

⁴⁰ See *ante*, pp. 26-27

⁴¹ In his statements on 25 June and 2 July, Nehru asserted that at no time had the Government of India given any assurance about payment of wages to workers for the period they remained on strike in 1946. On 2 July, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai said that all that he had promised was that an attempt would be made to find a solution, if possible

merits and to go as far as we can safely go. But we seem to be governed, as of old, by some kind of a theological and metaphysical mentality. Instead of dealing with the problem as it arises, we begin discussing something that happened long ago from an ethical point of view. I do not wish in the slightest to decry ethics or the ethical point of view. But an argument of this kind leads nowhere. It means ultimately believing or not believing someone's word. I hope that the Posts and Telegraphs workers will consider this matter calmly and not indulge in threats of strikes. If they want to discuss it with us, we are perfectly prepared to do so.

31. We have not yet come to a final decision with Pakistan about the passport system although an agreement has been reached over most matters.⁴² Probably this will come into effect sometime in September, either at the beginning or the middle of the month. We have to make preparations for it from now on, and have a large number of passports printed. These passports will be simpler and cheaper than the normal international passports. We hope that travel between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal will be easy. It has been said that since this passport system has been talked about, there has been an influx of people from East Bengal to West Bengal. This is not completely true. Indeed, the average daily figures of movement for the first fortnight of June are as follows -

	From East to West Bengal	From West to East Bengal
Hindus	5,954	6,717
Muslims	2,108	2,494

These figures show that a larger movement from West Bengal to East Bengal still continues. It is true, however, that there has been an influx into Calcutta and the Sealdah Station was full of these newcomers recently. The type of people who are coming is somewhat different from the old

⁴² See ante, p 7

5 July, 1952

53

migrants They are people in great distress. Many of them are beggars—often professional beggars. On the Assam side also a number of people in distress and professional beggars, both Hindus and Muslims, have entered Assam from East Bengal. It is obvious that this movement is due to the deteriorating economic conditions in East Bengal. It is creating a new problem for us

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6

New Delhi
25 July, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I am guilty of delay in sending you this letter. But work has been very heavy indeed and it is sometimes difficult to keep pace with it.

2 One of the subjects that has taken up a great deal of our time is that of Kashmir. There are two separate aspects of this—Dr Graham's enquiries and efforts at mediation and the internal relationship of the Jammu and Kashmir state with the Union of India. So far as the former is concerned Dr. Graham has practically finished his third stage of conversations.¹ He now proposes that a meeting on ministerial level should take place at Geneva early in August.² We have always been willing to co-operate in all talks which might lead to a settlement. Normally, therefore, we would agree to this meeting. But it is exceedingly difficult for a Minister to go to Geneva on the date suggested. We had proposed that the meeting might be held in Delhi, but, as was expected, Pakistan did not approve of this. We are now thinking what reply we should send to Dr. Graham. It is clear that none of our Ministers can go outside before the present session of Parliament ends. We do not yet know how long it will last. Originally it was fixed to end on the 31st July. Now this has been extended to the 7th August. Probably there will be another extension of some days. Then there is the Independence Day on August 15th. No Minister can possibly leave India before the third week of August. I

1 On 16 July 1952 at New York.

2 It was held from 26 August to 10 September 1952.

am not yet sure whether we can send anyone. There are not many people who are fully acquainted with the complicated negotiations in regard to Kashmir which have taken place during the last four and a half years. I cannot go in any event, partly because I just cannot leave India at this stage, partly also because by going to a foreign country has a certain additional significance and might create some complications.

3 The other question that we have been discussing at great length has been the relationship of Kashmir with India.³ Yesterday I spoke at some length in the House of the People.⁴ Probably you will see a report of my speech. I shall try to send you a copy of it later and I shall not, therefore, repeat what I said then. But I would like you to keep in mind the full facts of this Kashmir story and the peculiar position that the state has occupied ever since it acceded to India. Most people are unaware of this or are apt to forget it. They mix up accession with other matters. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir state was complete just as the accession of other Indian states was complete when it first took place. But later the other states accepted a closer integration with the Union. Kashmir did not, and could not, in the circumstances. That does not lessen in any way its accession to India. This matter came up before us when the Constitution of India was being finalized about November 1949. Sardar Patel dealt with it then and he gave a special, though transitional, place to the Jammu and Kashmir state in our Constitution. This was embodied in Article 370 of the Constitution and the President's Order which was issued on January 26th, 1950. In accordance with this Article and this Order, only certain parts of our Constitution were applied to Kashmir state. That position continued and still continues. It might have

3. Discussions between the Central and the state Governments from 15 to 23 July 1952 led to an agreement on the constitutional status of the state.

4. Nehru clarified on 24 July that the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir state was "complete in law and in fact. Jammu and Kashmir state is a constituent unit like any other."

continued like this for some more time if the Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir state had not been meeting now to finalize their Constitution. Because of this, we had to consider this matter afresh.

4 As a result of our talks and the agreement⁵ arrived at, a number of fresh and important parts of our Constitution will now be applied to the Kashmir state. Even so, the state will be on a somewhat separate footing from that of the other states. This was inevitable not only because of the U N reference, but also because of other factors.

5 This is the legal approach. But far more important than this is the psychological approach, and this has been recognized right from the beginning. We have stated all along that there is going to be no compulsion of any kind on the people of Kashmir. It is for them to decide. If they wish to leave India, they can do so, however much this may be painful to us. If we adopt any other policy, that will be against our basic principles, our pledges to the people of Kashmir and to the world, and would, in addition, be a

5 The salient points of the agreement signed on 24 July 1952 were (1) the head of the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be a person recommended by the state legislature and recognized by the President of India, (2) the Indian flag would have the same status in Kashmir as in any other part of India but Kashmir state flag would be retained, (3) citizenship would be common in two parts of the country but the state legislature would have power to define and regulate the rights and privileges of the permanent residents in Kashmir, (4) the fundamental rights as laid down in the Indian Constitution would be extended to Kashmir, but these would not come in the way of the state's programme of land reforms, (5) power to reprieve or commute death sentences would belong to the President of India, (6) the Indian President's power to declare a state of emergency in case of external danger or internal disturbances would be extended to Kashmir, but in regard to internal disturbances it would be used only at the request of the state Government, (7) residuary powers would be retained by the state but the state could transfer more rights to the Union, (8) the Supreme Court could adjudicate in regard to disputes between the state and the Central and other provincial governments and on fundamental rights agreed to by the state, and (9) the details of the financial arrangements would be further considered.

justification of the charges that Pakistan has brought against us. Because of this, we have always laid stress on the right of the people of Kashmir to decide their future and the extent to which they will accept the various parts of our Constitution. In other words, while being a constituent unit of India like all others, the measure of state autonomy in their case is somewhat greater for the present than that in other States. It is open to them and to us to vary this in future.

6. In the nature of things, what holds us together is not law or Constitution, but the feelings of the people on both sides as well as their common ideals and objectives. That is the basic bond. Everything that we do should be judged from that standpoint. The agitation⁶ in parts of Jammu Province against the present Kashmir Government is, from this point of view, basically misconceived, because it tends to loosen that bond and to make large numbers of people in Kashmir rather apprehensive about their future.

7. The talks we had with Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues were long and sometimes rather exhausting. But there was no real difficulty about them, as we approached these complicated questions in a friendly and comradely way. Unfortunately, largely because of press propaganda, a mist of doubt and suspicion had arisen in the minds of many people. I am glad that this has been removed and we can continue to work together with full faith in each other. Whatever the importance, political or other, there might be for us (and the importance is very great for both of us) in the Kashmir state being part of the Union of India, that partnership can only subsist in friendship and faith. Only then it has some value. It is on the basis of this that we have

6. On 16 July, the Jammu Bar Association called for fuller application to the state of Jammu and Kashmir of the principles relating to citizenship and the fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution. Premnath Dogra, President of the Praja Parishad, demanded on 15 July Kashmir's "complete integration into India," and on 20 July, S. P. Mookerjee asked Sheikh Abdullah to show no hesitation in accepting full integration of Kashmir with India if he regarded himself as an Indian.

proceeded in the past and this has brought rich dividends. It is on this basis also that we propose to go ahead in the future.

8. We have taken many important decisions which, inevitably, will produce their reactions elsewhere, more especially in regard to other so-called 'B' States. The very first question that arises is that of the head of the state. We have agreed to the head of the state of Jammu and Kashmir state being chosen by the Constituent Assembly who will recommend a name to the President of the Union. This recommendation and recognition by the President satisfies our Constitution. But behind it lies the fact that the real choice is that of the Constituent Assembly or the State Legislature. That choice can only be made by some form of election. This throws out a new idea for the other 'B' States. I confess that I am not an admirer of that part of our Constitution which has given a life tenure to the Rajpramukhship in these 'B' States.⁷ Many of the arrangements arrived at in those hurried days of accession seem rather out of place now when we think about them more coolly.

9. In Parliament we have had not only a strenuous but sometimes an exciting time. There was the debate on linguistic provinces.⁸ I have often written to you about this subject and in Parliament I repeated our policy.⁹ There is absolutely no desire on our part to come in the way of an adjustment or change which is desired by the people. But where desires or interests conflict, it becomes difficult to come to any automatic and theoretical conclusion. We have to act as a responsible Government keeping in view all the

⁷ Under Article 366 (21) of the Constitution the Rajpramukhs held their posts for life subject to their continuing to enjoy the President's recognition.

⁸ From 7 to 12 July 1952.

⁹ Nehru stated in the Lok Sabha on 7 July 1952 that linguistic States could be formed if there was a fair measure of agreement among the parties concerned. Referring to the suggestion of disintegrating Hyderabad, he said, "I think it will be extremely undesirable, unfortunate and injurious to Hyderabad."

factors. Merely to rush in and decide something without carefully weighing all the consequences and providing for them would be the height of irresponsibility. There can be little doubt that the creation of new provinces would involve, to say the least, major administrative changes and upsets. We shall face them, if necessary, but let us face them after thinking them out and with a measure of general consent among those chiefly concerned. We live in strange times when the thin crust of peace and stability easily cracks. Almost every day some news comes from other countries of internal upsets. A day or two ago, we read about the *coup d'etat* in Egypt.¹⁰ In Iran, conditions are bad.¹¹ In Korea, interminable talks go on while the issue of war and peace hangs in the balance.

10 Another exciting and almost fierce debate was that on the Preventive Detention Bill.¹² In the course of this debate, the House of the People witnessed some scenes which were most regrettable.¹³ What pained me very much was an element of vulgarity that sometimes crept into some members' speeches, and not only in speeches but in their gestures also. It would be unfortunate indeed if we cannot behave with restraint and dignity in our legislatures.

10 As a result of a coup on 23 July, King Farouk was forced to appoint Aly Meher Pasha as the Prime Minister and General Muhammad Neguib as Commander-in-Chief. On 26 July, King Farouk was obliged to abdicate in favour of his infant son.

11 After elections in May 1952 the Prime Minister Mossadeq formally resigned on 5 July 1952, re-nominated by the Majlis, he assumed the premiership on 11 July 1952, but asked for sweeping powers in the administrative and economic fields and insisted on holding the war ministry. On denial of such powers, Mossadeq resigned on 17 July. This led to widespread rioting in his favour. On 22 July 1952, the Majlis having voted his reinstatement, Mossadeq became Prime Minister again.

12 From 18 to 23 July 1952

13 During the debate on the Bill on 18 July 1952, the Speaker ordered a Communist member who constantly interrupted him to leave and, on his refusing to do so, ordered him to be taken out by force, thereafter all the Communist members walked out.

11 The Preventive Detention Bill has gone into Select Committee¹⁴ and it will, no doubt, take up a good deal of our time later. It is quite possible that this session of Parliament might have to be prolonged because of this as we have to dispose of it during this session. In the course of the debate on this Bill, many charges were brought against Government, chiefly State Governments, in regard to individual cases. It was difficult to deal with all these charges then, though each charge made always deserves an enquiry. Government is not above error, certainly not Government officials. The test is not so much absence of error, but the capacity to correct it and to profit by past mistakes. But the real point at issue in this Bill is not an individual case here and there, but whether this power should be given to our Governments. You know that every State Government has demanded this power and if the Central Government did not provide it, there would probably be varying State laws on the same subject. That would be unfortunate. It is far better to have a carefully thought out piece of Central legislation which would bring about uniformity in all the States.

12 Apart from this major reason, there is, I think, adequate justification for our having this measure to deal with special cases of anti-social activities. Not many people know that quite a considerable number of black-marketeers have been dealt with under the last Act. There have also been cases of espionage and there have been cases, as in Saurashtra, of a well organized movement, comprising big jagirdars in close alliance with gangs of dacoits.¹⁵ But for the Preventive Act that we have, it would have been very difficult to deal with them.

13 It is supposed by some people that this will be meant

14 On 23 July 1952

15 For example, it was reported that Bhupat had killed 79 persons and committed 55 dacoities in Saurashtra with the support of jagirdars before escaping to Pakistan in April 1952.

chiefly for the Communists ¹⁶ That is not true, though it has been applied a great deal, more especially in Hyderabad and Bengal, against Communists. In Hyderabad, there was something in the nature of open insurrection and I doubt very much if any Government anywhere would have dealt with such insurrectionary activities under the normal civil law. The situation was a very grave one and the gravity can well be realized when we compare it with what has been happening in Malaya. I have no doubt that the Malayan situation is a bigger one and more difficult to handle. Nevertheless, essentially, the two had a great similarity. The special laws and regulations applied in Malaya,¹⁷ without much success thus far, are infinitely harsher than anything that was done in Hyderabad. I think it is true that there were police excesses in Hyderabad and I am distressed about them. But one must remember the terrible excesses on the other side and the difficulties that the police had to experience.

14 We talk of Communists rather vaguely. There are, of course, the orthodox Communists, i.e., members of the Communist Party of India. But, apart from them, there are many other types and varieties of Communists who are a law unto themselves. Many of these latter still continue to declare that they will indulge in violence. In Bengal, every member of the Communist Party has been released. But there are some of this other type of Communists who still continue in detention because even in detention they say that when they come out they will revert to their peculiar type of violence, which has been throwing bombs, killing people and looting.

15. The question before us is whether, having regard to all the circumstances, we should have some such preventive

¹⁶ A K. Gopalan suggested this on 21 July and the next day S P Mookerjee said that if the Government had any charges to make against the Communist Party, these should be made openly and not by resorting to "star chamber methods."

¹⁷ See Vol 1, p 276

detention law or not. I think that it is necessary. The other question then has to be carefully considered as to what the nature of that law should be and how we can profit by our past experience, we should provide checks and safeguards. Some attempt has been made on the present Bill, which is certainly an improvement on the past.¹⁸ It may be still improved further in the Select Committee.

16. Having said all this, I should like to impress upon you that a law like this must be used with the greatest caution. It is not to be used normally and only in special cases should it be invoked. It is easy enough to put a person in prison and this might well become a habit with some of our district or other officials. We must prevent this happening. I have seen some cases in which it appeared to me to be manifestly wrong to have used this law against some individuals.

17. There has been a good deal of talk about India's efforts to help in bringing about a settlement in Korea. It is true that we have tried hard and we continue to do so despite many disappointments. But it is wrong to call India's role as that of a mediator. We happen to be placed in a special position because we have friendly relations with countries on both sides of the conflict. We can approach them, which others cannot. We have tried to take advantage of this position by sometimes interpreting one country's wishes or suggestions to the other. But this has been done quite informally and without commitments. That was the only way to do it. We shall continue to function in this way. I wish that the press would not make a fuss about it, because that itself comes in our way.

18. The situation in Nepal is causing us grave anxiety.¹⁹

18. The Bill provided that no detention should last more than a year, a detained person should have an opportunity to address the advisory board personally and a person once released could not be detained again on the same grounds.

19. For defying the mandate of 21 July 1952 issued by the Working Committee of the Nepali Congress to resign within 48 hours, M. P. Koirala and his colleagues were expelled from the organization on 25 July.

The nationalist movement there is disintegrating and, as a result, the Government is also disintegrating. For the moment it is difficult to say how a stable Ministry can be established there in the near future. It might well happen that the King decides to function without a Ministry and with the help of advisers only for a while. If so, that will only be a temporary solution. Nepal demonstrates to us that we cannot make progress by pure theory or by wishful thinking. We have to have the material for progress, the human material more than anything else.

19 Assam has again been devastated by floods. That attractive but very unfortunate province has had a succession of calamities year after year. Apart from this it has very special problems and is almost surrounded by international frontiers—Tibet-China, Burma and Pakistan. In addition, it has large tribal areas which contain a great variety of different tribal folk. Some of these tribes are highly advanced in their own way and very attractive, others are exceedingly primitive and indulge in head-hunting. The resources of the State are very limited and yet much has to be done. We are sending a team of senior officers to Assam very soon to examine these various problems on the spot and to advise us as to what should be done by the Central Government.

20. On the whole, the food situation throughout the country is fairly satisfactory. The rains have also been good in large parts of the country, though some parts still lack them. The new food policy that has been adopted in many States is producing good results, both practically and psychologically. I was greatly surprised therefore to learn about the food riots in Calcutta.²⁰ I have seldom come across anything with lesser justification behind it. There was no lack of food in Calcutta, either rice or wheat, and the Central Government had fulfilled all its commitments. The Bengal

²⁰ Demonstrations for several days from 15 July 1952 had turned violent at times, with widespread arson and damage to property. The police had used tear gas and resorted to lathi charge.

Government had also done its part, the rest had to be done next year. Possibly due to some misunderstanding, but what is much more likely, deliberately, some people organized these riots. It seems to me that they were purely political and had no reference to the food situation. It is sad that some of our countrymen should try to exploit a situation in this way for their group advantage and bring misery to the people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
2 August, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

As I write to you, the Preventive Detention Bill is being considered in the House of the People.¹ This Bill has been made the occasion for an organized and combined assault by nearly all the Opposition Members of Parliament against Government.² Harrowing stories of the lot of the detenus have been told in the House.³ I suppose these discussions will continue as long as the Opposition can possibly carry them on. Parliament will probably have to sit till the middle of the month.⁴ We hope to pass the third reading of the Bill in the House of the People on the evening of the 6th August. It will then go to the Council of States and I cannot say how long that will take.⁵ The House of the People will have to sit on till the Council has finished with the Bill.

2 The amount of time and energy that such legislation

1 The Preventive Detention (Second Amendment) Bill came up for the third reading in the Lok Sabha on 29 July and was debated from 2 to 6 August 1952

2 During the debate in the Lok Sabha on 21 July, A K Gopalan and N C Chatterjee said that there was no emergency in the country to justify the passing of the Bill. On 2 August, S P Mookerjee said that the Bill empowered the State to become a police State because arrests and detentions could take place on charges which were not subject to verification

3 For example, N M Jaisooriya, V. Ramarao and Anandan Nambiar spoke on 22 July and 1 August of the police atrocities against detenus in various jails

4 The Lok Sabha was adjourned *sine die* on 12 August 1952

5 The Bill was passed on 12 August 1952

takes in the House is enormous. It is right that every Bill, which deals with personal freedom or which affects the people generally, should be carefully considered. But there is undoubtedly a tendency to obstruct and delay, indeed this is openly proclaimed. It is chiefly because of this that we decided to have this Bill for two years and a quarter. Some State Governments wanted it for a longer period. I do not think it would have been right to extend this period.

3. A problem arises as to how to deal with delaying and obstructive tactics in our legislatures. Democratic functioning depends upon a great deal of give and take. If this is absent, then all work suffers and indeed democracy comes into disrepute. The British Parliament had first to face these tactics long ago in the days of Parnell⁶ of Ireland. They evolved some procedure to get over that. Later, fresh experience led them to adopt fresh devices. It is possible that we may have to consider some changes in our Rules of Procedure in order to prevent undue delays. For the present, however, we shall carry on as we are.

4. You must have read about our discussions with the Members of the Jammu and Kashmir Government and the agreement⁷ on some issues that we reached. There has been a great deal of misunderstanding about the position of Kashmir state in the Indian Union. I tried to clear some of these in the speech I delivered in the House of the People.⁸ Separately, I am sending you a printed copy of the speech.⁹ We shall be having debates on Kashmir soon in both the Council of States and the House of the People.¹⁰

6. Charles Steward Parnell (1846-1891) Irish nationalist, Member of the British House of Commons from 1875 to 1880, adopted obstructive tactics to draw attention to Irish grievances.

7. See *ante*, p. 56.

8. See *ante*, p. 55.

9. For text of the speech see *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, Vol. III, Part II (4th-29th July 1952), pp. 4502-4511.

10. On 4 and 7 August in the Lok Sabha, and on 4 and 5 August 1952 in the Rajya Sabha.

5 The first thing to remember is that Kashmir state has to be treated as a special case for a variety of reasons. If you will refer to Article 370 of our Constitution, you will see the decisions then arrived at by Sardar Patel in consultation with the Kashmir Government. That Article has since governed the situation and any change requires the concurrence of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. There is also, of course, the reference to the United Nations and we have to keep the assurances we have given to it.

6 The decisions in regard to Kashmir undoubtedly shake up the system of Rajpramukhs and Rulers' privy purses, etc. Having given our word, we have to keep it. But the fact remains that the present arrangements are completely illogical and very difficult to justify. The idea of having Rajpramukhs for life and not only giving them a handsome privy purse and heavy allowances in addition as Rajpramukhs, is something which does not fit in at all with modern ideas. Indeed two or three years' experience has confirmed this opinion. I have little doubt that this question will be raised more and more by the public and we shall have to face it. The recent dramatic developments in Egypt¹¹ direct people's thoughts all the more towards the removal of these anomalies.

7. At Dr Graham's invitation, we have decided to participate in inter-ministerial talks about Kashmir in Geneva.¹² Dr Graham wanted us to go there early in August. We pointed out that it was very difficult for any Minister to leave Delhi during the session of Parliament and we suggested that the talks might be held in Delhi. This was not agreed to, probably because Pakistan objected to it. Ultimately, we accepted Geneva as the venue and August 25th has been fixed for the beginning of these talks. Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹³ has kindly consented to go on our behalf. We

¹¹ See *ante*, p. 59

¹² From 26 August to 10 September 1952

¹³ For b. in see Vol. 1, p. 44

have been told that these talks will not last more than seven or eight days

8 The talks will proceed on the basis of a revised version of Dr. Graham's twelve points ¹⁴ The revision has been done by Dr. Graham himself. We do not entirely agree with it. But as a basis for discussion we have accepted it, having made our own position perfectly clear. These twelve points are confined to the question of demilitarization and to the induction into office of the plebiscite administrator. We have been discussing various versions of these twelve points for a long time past and Dr. Graham has come to India twice in this connection. The last set of talks were in New York and did not result in an agreement between India and Pakistan ¹⁵ It is exceedingly unlikely that further talks in Geneva will bridge this gulf.

9 What then? It is evident that Dr. Graham wants to demonstrate that he has done his utmost to find some agreement on the lines he has pursued thus far. Having failed there, he might feel justified in exploring some other avenue. Indeed he has hinted at this, though nothing is said about these fresh avenues. You may remember that something like this stage was reached when Dixon¹⁶ came here. Dixon then suggested our exploring new methods of a settlement.

¹⁴ As Indian and Pakistani representatives had during the talks at New York failed to reach agreement on the quantum of troops to be retained by each side, Graham made fresh proposals in which he suggested retention of 3,000 to 6,000 troops on the Pakistani side and of 12,000 to 18,000 troops on the Indian side in place of the vague principle of "the lowest number of troops proportionate to their strength on 1 January 1949." For the twelve points proposed by Graham on 7 September 1951 and subsequent discussions on them, see Vol. 2, pp. 516-517, 585 and 600.

¹⁵ During discussions in New York from 29 May to 16 July 1952, it was clarified that by "bulk" India meant "majority" of forces, while Pakistan meant "most" of the forces. Again India would not include the state militia in "state armed forces" while Pakistan insisted on its inclusion. India and Pakistan also did not agree to the estimates of their troops as on 1 January 1949.

¹⁶ Sir Owen Dixon. For further see Vol. 2, p. 78.

and, after some discussion, himself made a proposal.¹⁷ In effect this was a partial partition of the state, more or less, based on the present position, and a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley and one or two other small areas. We did not fancy this, but the attitude that we took up to Dixon was that we were prepared to discuss anything that was put forward. That, of course, did not mean that we accepted any proposal made. Pakistan then practically refused to discuss these matters and so the matter ended there.

10. Dixon, even then, expressed his opinion that a plebiscite all over the state was hardly possible and even if it took place, it might lead to undesirable consequences, such as migrations and upsets. Because of this he came to the conclusion that a plebiscite should as far as possible be avoided or at any rate should be limited to relatively small areas. I am drawing your attention to these old discussions as it is possible that you have forgotten about them. This does not mean that similar proposals are going to be put forward now. In any event, it is hardly possible to discuss any new proposal thoroughly at Geneva because any such proposal would require constant consultation here in Delhi and with the Kashmir Government.

11. It is announced that Sir Zafrullah Khan¹⁸ will represent Pakistan in Geneva. There is at present a widespread agitation going on in Western Pakistan against Sir Zafrullah Khan and the Qadianis or the Ahmadiyas¹⁹ as they are called. Many orthodox Muslims refuse to consider the Qadiani sect as Muslim at all because of certain doctrinal differences. Therefore, they propose that the Qadianis should be called a minority and not Muslims. I am referring to this as it has a bearing on Sir Zafrullah Khan's position in

17 See Vol 2, pp 160, 172-173, 185-186

18 For b fn see Vol 1, p. 362

19 The Ahmadiya sect was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who was born at Qadian (Punjab) in 1839 and who claimed in 1889 to be the Mahdi or Messiah. After his death in 1908, his followers began to be regarded as heretics by the orthodox Muslims.

Pakistan and the authority he can exercise in any talks in Geneva. It is clear that he cannot go far beyond his brief. If he attempts to do so, all his opponents in Pakistan, and they are many, will criticize him and attack him. Therefore, I do not expect any marked progress in Geneva on new lines.

12 Some time ago we had decided to send Shri K M Panikkar²⁰ to Cairo as our Ambassador as soon as he left Peking. In Cairo, however, a difficulty arose about the recognition of King Farouk²¹ as King of the Sudan also.²² We were reluctant to take any step which meant our recognition of any new status for Sudan. In our view it was for the people of Sudan to decide this and we would like them to decide this in co-operation with the Egyptian Government. There was no particular difficulty in our calling King Farouk, King of Sudan, but we wished to avoid any misunderstanding or wrong interpretation of this act. Some two or three weeks ago we addressed the Egyptian Government on the subject of Sudan. In this *aide memoire*, we expressed our satisfaction at the efforts being made by the Egyptian Government to come to a settlement about Sudan in co-operation with the leaders of the Sudanese people. Further we said that we hoped that such a settlement would be reached in conformity with the wishes of the people of Sudan.

13 Ever since this message of ours was sent to Egypt, there have been continuous upsets there, ending in the removal of King Farouk himself. In view of all these developments, we do not wish to delay much longer sending Shri K M Panikkar to Cairo. We hope therefore very soon to make a formal approach to the Egyptian Government on this subject.

14 There have been some important diplomatic

20 For b fn see Vol 1, p 317

21 For b fn see Vol 2, p 534

22 The title was assumed on 15 November 1951. See Vol 2, p 534

appointments recently. You know that Shri B G Kher²³ is now our High Commissioner in London Shri G L. Mehta²⁴ will be going to Washington, Shri K P.S. Menon,²⁵ our Foreign Secretary, to Moscow and Shri N Raghavan²⁶ to Peking Dr. Abdul Rauf,²⁷ one of our most senior Ambassadors, is going from Rangoon to Tokyo and Shri Chettur²⁸ who has been in Tokyo, will go to Rangoon.

15 When we started opening our Missions abroad, there was a tendency to attach more importance to European capitals than to others, especially in Asia. Some places are obviously important from every point of view, such as London, Washington, Moscow and Peking. But there was no particular reason, except old habit, to induce us to consider other European centres as more important than Asian capitals. The old traditions of Europe's leadership continued to prevail and influence us. As a matter of fact, though Europe is undoubtedly still important and will continue to be so, it no longer dominates the international scene. Washington plays a very important part indeed and in

23 (1888-1957) Solicitor and Congressman from Bombay, Prime Minister of Bombay, 1937-39, Chief Minister, 1946-52, High Commissioner in United Kingdom, 1952-54, Chairman, Official Language Commission, 1955-56

24 (1900-1974) Businessman at Calcutta, 1928-47; Chairman, Tariff Board, 1947-50, member, Planning Commission, 1950-52, Ambassador to the United States, 1952-58

25 (1898-1982). Joined Indian Civil Service, 1921, later seconded to Indian Political Service, Ambassador to China, 1947, Foreign Secretary, 1948-52, Ambassador to Soviet Union, 1952-61

26 (1900-1977) Practised law in Malaya, 1928-47, and joined Subhas Bose during World War II, Consul-General in Indonesia, 1947-48; Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, 1948-50, to Belgium, 1950-51, to Switzerland, 1951-52, to China, 1952-55, to Argentina, 1956-59, and to France, 1959-60

27 (1904-1964) Lawyer from Allahabad, Representative of India in Burma, 1946-47, High Commissioner in Burma, 1947-48, Ambassador to Burma, 1948-52, to Japan, 1952-54, High Commissioner in Canada, 1954-58, Ambassador to Belgium, 1958-61, and to Switzerland, 1962

28 K K Chettur (1901-1956) Administrator and diplomat, Ambassador to Burma, 1952-54, to Belgium, 1954-56

fact quite a number of countries in Europe and even in Asia look up to Washington for a lead. On the other side, Moscow and Peking have become very important. London, for a variety of reasons, is still a highly important centre of political activity.

16 Reality gradually thrust itself upon us, and in our minds as in actual fact some of the countries of Asia became more important from the point of view of our own interests. Apart from the four great powers named above, our first class Embassies are now situated in Pakistan, Cairo, Nepal, Burma and Indonesia. Afghanistan and Ceylon, for different reasons, are also important. Thus our political outlook is governed more and more by geographical reality and does not depend so much on what Washington or London or some other distant centre might think. Our immediate neighbours are Pakistan, Nepal, China and Burma. From the point of view of their power and resources, they differ greatly. But from the point of view of India's interests, they are of primary importance in different ways and concern us more than many bigger and otherwise more important countries.

17 This indicates a gradual shift in our international outlook and is also evidence of our developing our own foreign policy and not depending upon other great countries. This seems to me so obvious that I cannot appreciate the question that is being asked us as to whether we are with the American group of powers or with the Soviet group. We are friendly to both, but essentially we function for ourselves and develop closer contacts with our neighbours. It is unfortunate that our relations with Pakistan are not good and are not likely to be very friendly in the near future. But that does not make any radical change in our world outlook.

18 It is true that any world outlook cannot ignore the dominant fact of the tussle and cold war between the American group and the Soviet group, which might lead to a disastrous world conflict. In spite of that, however, gradually

new alignments take place outside those dominant spheres. This does not mean, as has sometimes been suggested, that a "third force" or a new power bloc is taking shape. It does mean that gradually, freed from the influence of great powers, some countries in Asia are evolving their own policies and progressively looking more towards each other. In some areas like the Middle East, there is trouble and turmoil and almost a vacuum so far as power is concerned. That vacuum is maintained partly because of nationalist upsurges in those countries and partly because of the rivalries of the great power groups.

19. One of the dominant features of the present day is of course the emergence of China as a great power. This has completely upset the old balance. The last war itself resulted in upsetting this old balance and only two really great powers emerged from it—the U S A and the U.S.S.R. All other countries were, from this point of view, secondary and, to some extent, dependent. The new China has further upset the old equilibrium, more especially in the Far East and in other parts of Asia. That is a major fact of the present age, and not to appreciate or recognize it means shutting our eyes to reality. Because of this refusal to recognize the emergence of this new great power, the United Nations has got into ever-increasing difficulties. It is not a question of liking or disliking the new regime in China. Fortunately for us we took a more realistic view from the beginning and adapted ourselves to it. We did not wholly like some of the consequences of this new development. For us it became a vital matter to consider that we had this new great power as our neighbour with 2000 miles of frontier between us. There were inherent dangers in that and we had to protect ourselves against them. These dangers were not because China was Communist but rather that a great power had grown and spread out to our frontiers. Our policy had to be adjusted to this fact. We wanted to be friendly to our neighbour, but, at the same time, we wanted to be firm about our own vital interests. Where these interests were not vital or important or were such that we could not define them,

such as in Tibet, we were prepared to adjust ourselves to changes. But in vital matters, there could be no compromise. It is for this reason that I declared in Parliament on several occasions that our frontier with Tibet, known as the McMahon line, was our fixed and definite border and we were not prepared to consider any change in it. I went a little further and declared that our frontier was, roughly speaking, the Himalayas, from our defence point of view. That is to say that we could not tolerate any incursion even into Nepal across the Himalayas.

20 I might add that at no time did I think that there was the slightest reason to expect any aggression on our north-eastern frontier. A little clear thinking will show that it is a frightfully difficult task for any army to cross Tibet and the Himalayas and invade India. Tibet is one of the most difficult and inhospitable of countries. An army may possibly cross it, but the problem of logistics and feeding it becomes increasingly difficult. The climate is itself an enemy of any large-scale movement. Apart from this, there was no particular reason why China should think in terms of aggression in this direction. If world war unfortunately comes, the principal theatres of that war will be elsewhere—in Europe, in the Middle East and in the Far East. No country is going to be foolish enough to get caught in the icy wilderness of Tibet and thus waste its resources and energy. Nevertheless, we had to be on our guard, not so much for an invasion but for some kind of gradual spreading out or infiltration. We have taken steps accordingly.

21 Our basic policy, however, remains to maintain friendly relations with China, subject always to protecting our interests with firmness. I believe the Chinese Government recognize both aspects of this policy and appreciate it. I think also that there is a definite feeling of friendliness towards India in China. That is due partly to historical reasons, partly to an Asian outlook and partly no doubt to their appraisal of the world situation. We have recently had some talks with the Chinese Government regarding our

position in Tibet ²⁹ With the Chinese overlordship of Tibet, certain consequences flow. We cannot for long maintain some garrisons in Tibetan towns, like Gyantse and Yatung.³⁰ These garrisons were placed there to protect our trade routes, because Tibet was weak and could not give protection. Our representative in Lhasa will in course of time become a Consul-General, as Tibet is no longer an independent country. There will be no difficulty in fixing these and like matters up

22 But, however, much we may think of these neighbourly relations and apprehensions, the fact remains that the world situation is governed by what happens in the unhappy and ruined country of Korea. If some settlement is reached there in the truce talks, there will be a feeling of tremendous relief all over the world. If not, the present tensions will continue and if war spreads, other disasters come in its train. That is why we were anxious to do our little bit in the cause of peace. We have not succeeded thus far and the situation continues to be tense. I cannot say what the future holds. But if an opportunity offers itself to us, we shall take advantage of it again.

²⁹ Panikkar informed Nehru on 15 June 1952 that Zhou Enlai had agreed to a discussion on Tibet but presumed that India had no intention of claiming "special rights arising from the unequal treaties of the past and was prepared to negotiate a new and permanent relationship safeguarding legitimate interests. For their part they were not desirous of abruptly bringing an end to institutions and arrangements which were in existence, like post and telegraphs, trade marts, etc. as such a course would create a vacuum." Zhou however insisted on an immediate agreement to replace the Indian trade mission at Lhasa by the Consul-General and conferment of the same status on the Chinese mission at Bombay.

³⁰ Nehru said at the press conference on 21 June 1952 that India when asked would withdraw the garrisons as provided in the treaty with Tibet.

23 I am troubled by the news I get of scarcity and famine conditions in some parts of the country. Although the rains have been on the whole good, they have failed in some parts. While in Assam and one or two other places there have been floods, in the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, conditions are bad. In parts of Bengal and south of India, they are equally bad. Demands come to us from all over the country for help both in the shape of immediate relief and in the shape of development schemes being taken in hand. Food is on the whole plentiful in the country, but the power to purchase it is, in many areas, very limited. How to get over this difficulty? How to help where help is obviously needed? How to have constructive works which provide purchasing power and at the same time build up for the future? That has become our basic problem. Already we are tied up with tremendous undertakings and are pledged to start others. Even these are beyond our present capacity and resources, but we are prepared to take the risk and go ahead. But this is not enough and the cry comes from so many other parts of India and reasons are advanced which are good and almost unanswerable. But where are these additional resources to come from suddenly? We cannot, because of sympathy, spread out limited resources and thus fail to achieve anything at all. We have to concentrate on what we can do. But while we do this, so many of our countrymen look on helplessly and ask for aid. It is difficult to say no.

24 Our Planning Commission wrestles with this problem. Government faces it from day to day. In some States a feeling arises that their interests are being ignored or bypassed in favour of others. Each State naturally thinks of itself chiefly and has only vague ideas about the problems and difficulties of other States. I wish that each State would realize that whatever our other failings might be, the Government of India is not partial to any State and that it tries to think of India as a whole. We do not write on a clean slate and we have to take things as they are and build on them. Even the cry for linguistic provinces is probably largely based on the feeling that particular area is neglected and not given a

2 August, 1952

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square deal. There is no way out for us except to pull together and to realize that India has to advance as a whole and not in bits and patches

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Camp Sonamarg
Kashmir
26 August, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I missed writing to you in the middle of this month, although there was much to write about. I am beginning this letter, after nearly a month, from one of the higher valleys of Kashmir.¹ I am at present at Sonamarg at an altitude of over 9,000 feet. This is a lovely spot on the old caravan route from Srinagar to Ladakh and Central Asia. It is only 52 miles from Srinagar. About ten miles from here is the Zojila, the Pass which leads from Kashmir proper to the higher regions of Ladakh, which, in their turn, join up with Tibet on the eastern side and Central Asia on the northern. In the old days big caravans used to travel along this route and go over the high Karakoram Pass leading into Central Asia. Indeed, if you look at the map, you will find that Kashmir itself is almost the heart of Central Asia. The old caravans hardly go now, though sometime a small one passes through. Big changes have taken place during these years in Central Asia, as well as in Kashmir. A part of this caravan route in the Kashmir state now lies on the other side of the ceasefire line which is controlled by Pakistan.

2 I have come this way, to Sonamarg and beyond, several times previously. The first time was just 36 years ago, in 1916. There was only a bridle path then, and our little party walked and rode on horses from Srinagar onwards. It took us three days to reach Sonamarg and then we climbed up the

1 Nehru visited Kashmir from 21 to 30 August 1952

Zojila and crossed into Ladakh Travelling slowly in that way, there was much more excitement and adventure and one felt as if the mysteries of the high mountains were unravelling themselves As one proceeded along the winding mountain paths, and saw the changing scene gradually, the *chinars* and poplars and fruit trees of the Valley gave place to walnut trees and pines As one went up still further, firs appeared and then, higher up still, the birch or the *bhojpatra*, on the bark of which so many manuscripts were written in ancient times About 10,500 feet even the birch gradually disappeared and there was only the juniper bush. Later, still, in the Ladakh plateau, there was not a tree to be seen, only grass and flowers, and, on either side, small snowfields or glaciers creeping down.

3. Things have changed since then and a fairly good road leads up to Sonamarg and beyond. What had taken me three days of hard riding previously, now took me three hours in a car It was a comfortable journey in this way, but I missed the excitement of old when we travelled in a more primitive way

4 On either side of the meadow of Sonamarg, there are high mountains The rock formations are very peculiar and impressive, and a great glacier lies only two or three miles away The road leads up through the narrow valley to Baltal and from there straight up a mountain to the Zojila This reminds me of the magnificent feat of our Army in the winter of 1948 The Pakistani forces at that time occupied the heights of the Zojila and it was very difficult to dislodge them Our engineers built a jeep road from Baltal right up to the Zojila and in the depth of the winter of 1948-49 some of our tanks went up this road and stormed that stronghold of the enemy It must be remembered that during those winter months the whole pass and the valleys are covered with heavy snow and the temperature is far below zero That feat of our Army will be recorded in our military annals and remembered

5 Before we had captured the Zojila, I paid a visit to Baltal

night at the foot of the Pass ² I saw our pickets high up on the mountain peaks at about 14,000 feet. To remain there in that exceedingly inclement weather was itself a feat. To carry on military operations was an additional test of endurance. What surprised and pleased me was that among our troops there were people from Madras, totally unused to the cold and to the high mountains, and yet who were functioning with fortitude and efficiency at this height. When they first came to Kashmir and saw the snow, they were surprised and thought that the soil of that part was white. Yet they soon got used to those regions, and, what is more, prospered and grew healthy, for there is health and strength in the air of these mountains.

6 Few people in India realize the extremely difficult conditions in which our Army and Air Force have functioned in these mountains, where there are numerous valleys and *nullahs* allowing the enemy to creep through unobserved. Few people realize the high efficiency and discipline which our Armed Forces have shown here. Whenever I come to Kashmir, I like to pay a visit to our detachments, and the more I see them, the more I admire their work, both that of officers and of men. They are a mixed group from all over India, including from Nepal. Kashmir has been a test and trial for us in many ways. But I have no doubt that it has done a great deal of good to our Army which is tougher and more efficient because of these operations and hard conditions of mountain warfare.

7 During the past months much has happened. Parliament was at last adjourned after a very heavy session.³ The House of the People will meet again on the 5th of November and the Council of States towards the end of November. Just before the session ended, the appointment

² On 27 June 1948. See Vol. 1, p. 147.

³ The session of Parliament lasting 90 days ended on 12 August and during its 67 sittings, considered 34 official and 22 private bills.

of additional Ministers was announced.⁴ Two Ministers⁵ (formerly called Ministers of State), ten Deputy Ministers⁶ and four Parliamentary Secretaries⁷ were appointed. The work of Parliament and Government has grown very heavy and it became essential for Deputy Ministers to be appointed to help in this work and to leave the senior Ministers a little more time to devote to important matters. It is also desirable in the parliamentary system that we have adopted, to have junior Ministers who can thus get experience and training in administrative work. We have been too apt to rely on some senior and experienced colleagues of ours, whether in the Centre or in the States, and sometimes there is a gap between them and others who have not had the chance of gaining that experience. We should fill that gap and always try to take some new blood in our governments.

8 The Parliamentary Secretaries that we have at the Centre are honorary. They are paid no salary or allowance during the Parliamentary session. They are not supposed to work normally beyond the session. If for any special reason they are asked to do some work during the intervening period between sessions, they can draw a normal daily allowance for those few days. It is desirable to have such honorary Parliamentary Secretaries and to choose bright young men or women for the purpose. That gives them some insight and training and it is easier then, at a later stage, to pick out Deputy Ministers and Ministers from among them.

⁴ On 11 August 1952.

⁵ D.P. Karmarkar was appointed Minister for Commerce and Industry and P.R.S. Deshmukh Minister of Food and Agriculture.

⁶ K.D. Malaviya was appointed Deputy Minister for Natural Resources and Scientific Research, S.S. Majithia for Defence, B.N. Datar for Home Affairs, Abid Ali for Labour, M.C. Shah for Finance, J.K. Bhonsle for Rehabilitation, O.V. Alagesan for Railway and Transport, Shrimati M. Chandrasekhar for Health, A.K. Chanda for External Affairs and M.V. Krishnappa for Food and Agriculture.

⁷ Lakshmi N. Menon, Shah Nawaz Khan, J.N. Hazarika and B.R. Bhagat were appointed as Parliamentary Secretaries.

9 In some of the States the practice of having paid Parliamentary Secretaries is followed. I dislike this practice, because there is no point in having a paid Parliamentary Secretary when there is a Deputy Minister. We cannot have too many grades of paid Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries. It is desirable certainly to have Deputy Ministers or Parliamentary Secretaries in the States whenever this is found necessary. But I would like to emphasize that such appointments should be on grounds of necessity only and for merit and not merely to please this group or that.

10 Sitting here at Sonamarg, my mind takes leave of the many day-to-day problems that confront us and I think more of the basic issues that face us in India and the world. Naturally, I think of the Kashmir issue which is again under discussion in Geneva. As you know, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar has gone there to represent us. I am afraid nothing much can come out of these discussions and I do not attach too much importance to them. We shall continue patiently to discuss these issues as long as is needed. But, in doing so, we are not going to give up any basic principle for which we have stood. Therefore, as far as I can see, the *status quo* will remain.

11 The Kashmir problem would probably have been solved long ago but for its entanglement with wider world issues, and the interest the great powers take in it. They have not helped in its solution. Meanwhile, these larger international issues gradually move towards greater crisis. The recent visit⁸ of a high-powered Chinese delegation under the leadership of the Foreign Minister, Chou En-lai,⁹ is itself an event of great significance, both political and, perhaps,

8 The Chinese delegation visited the Soviet Union from 17 August to 29 September 1952. Zhou Enlai returned to Beijing on 17 September.

9 Zhou Enlai (1898-1976). Founded Chinese Communist Youth group in Paris, 1922, chief negotiator for the Communists in talks with the Kuomintang, 1946, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's China from 1949 till his death.

military also ¹⁰ The truce talks at Panmunjom continue without yielding any result and the hope that we nurtured about an early settlement there has faded away. Yet, the mere fact that those continue is something to be thankful for, for the alternative is terrible to contemplate

12 I have often written to you about foreign affairs and our foreign policy. There is far too great a tendency, even among eminent statesmen abroad, to simplify the issues and to talk in terms of some crusade, either for communism or anti-communism. This makes an understanding of the real situation much more difficult. Whatever our views may be about economic problems and policies, the first thing to remember is that it is not on account of these ideologies that this world crisis has arisen. Because of various historical reasons, two tremendous world powers dominate the scene today—the U S A and the U S.S.R. The other countries are either attached to one or the other in a subordinate capacity or play a rather passive independent role. In effect, each of the two great world powers struggles to obtain a pre-dominant position in the world.

13 What can be the outcome of this historical process that has practically eliminated the other great and small powers? That historical process has been conditioned by many factors, chiefly technological developments. Will this process continue till one great power practically dominates the world? These technological developments in the science of warfare and rapid transport and communications have made it possible for such widespread and distant dominion to be exercised.

14 But before any such development takes place, there is bound to be war, because neither of the two great powers will

¹⁰ During the visit of the Chinese delegation to Moscow, the Soviet Government agreed (1) to transfer all rights over Chang Chun railway by December 1952, (2) to the joint use of the naval base at Port Arthur till a peace treaty with Japan was signed, and (3) to provide technical help to build Chinese industry. For the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual aid signed earlier on 14 February 1950, see Vol 2, p. 29.

submit to the other's dominion. We may calculate the relative strength of the two and their allies. In doing so, I think it would be true at this stage to say that the strength of the American group is greater, because they possess the more advanced technological processes and their industrial production is colossal. On the other side also, there is continuous technological progress and they have masses of human beings at their disposal. In any event, it can no longer be said that either side has a preponderating advantage which can result in a smashing and fairly quick victory. Thus, a world war now would not only be a prolonged affair, but would bring mutual destruction on a colossal scale. It would make little difference as to who is the victor and who is vanquished, when the world lies in ruins.

15 It is for this very practical reason, apart from any theoretical or ethical approach, that every effort has to be made to prevent such a war from happening. What is the alternative?—some kind of adjustment between the great blocs of powers. If that adjustment is not possible, then war is inevitable and that means a defeat for modern civilization and the very causes for which people will fight. The great question therefore is whether such an adjustment is possible. Considering the tremendous issues at stake, statesmanship must come to the conclusion that an adjustment must be made. Any other approach leads to disaster.

16 Most statesmen recognize this patent fact, but they often say that they will deal with the other party when they are strong enough to impose their will. That presumes that while one party adds to its strength, the other will remain quiescent. Of course, that is not going to happen. Indeed, it may well be that the other party grows more in strength during the interval and so the relative position either remains the same or worsens.

17 At the end of the last world war it was generally thought that the possession of the atomic bomb by the U.S.A. gave them a tremendous advantage over their adversaries. That advantage no longer exists in that measure now, and if there is a war, both sides may well use the atomic

bomb. In the same way, it will be difficult for one party to have a major advantage for long and the other will catch up soon enough. Therefore, this talk of dealing with strength has no meaning. It simply leads to a policy of drift while conditions become worse.

18 If some kind of mutual adjustment and the creation of a new balance of power is the only way out, then countries like India can play a role which might help in bringing about that adjustment. We must not exaggerate this and imagine that we can do much. But we should not underrate the possibility either. Because of this, we have tried from time to time to help in bringing about conditions for a settlement in Korea. We have not succeeded. But that is no reason why we should despair or give up, for the consequences of no settlement are terrible to contemplate.

19. Few people realize fully how the old balance of power has been completely shattered. We either create a new balance or go to war. Mere piling up of armaments does not create a balance. It adds to the fear that leads to hatred and utter lack of understanding. It is not enough for us to talk vaguely of peace and put forward high ethical and moral principles. We have to understand the position objectively and practically in all its implications and then come to decisions. None of us, however powerful we may be, can mould the world after our pattern. There are inherent limitations in the power of the greatest country and it is dangerous to overestimate one's own power and to underestimate the power of the adversary. We have to keep this in view ourselves in regard to our limited commitments, whether they are military or financial. It is extraordinary how some people, who should be presumed to be responsible, talk irresponsibly of war, as if war was the solvent of all ills. One of our gravest problems is that of minorities in East Bengal. There is no doubt that the Pakistan Government has, in the past, followed a policy of squeezing out the middle classes especially. The April 1950 Agreement¹¹

¹¹ See Vol 2, p 63.

certainly brought about some improvement, but the process continues and there is a great deal of distress. We try to deal with this problem on the diplomatic plane. The only other plane is that of war which, I am convinced, will not solve that problem, whatever else it might do. Yet, leading personalities talk about our adopting methods which can only lead to war.¹² I cannot imagine anything more irresponsible from every point of view and, more especially, that of the minorities concerned. We are accused sometimes of a policy of appeasement and are asked to get tough with Pakistan. The toughness that our accusers exhibit is the use of strong and offensive language. That is not how a civilized nation acts, nor is that the way of statesmanship. A nation conserves its strength and, because of that strength, can sometimes afford to take strong action. Even that action is inevitably limited by the strength and resources of that nation. It does not issue threats and use offensive language.

20 In the world today we live in some kind of a twilight between peace and war. The old balances having been completely upset, no new equilibrium has taken their place. For a long time Europe was the political centre of the world. Then America came into this picture and Europe and North America became two main centres. Now Western Europe has receded into the background and the two principal centres of power are supposed to be Washington and Moscow. At the same time, great changes and revolutions in Asia have taken that vast continent, to a large extent, outside the purview of colonial politics. China has emerged as a great power and, because of its alliance with the Soviet, has added greatly to the weight of Moscow in the world affairs. It must be remembered, however, that China and Russia need not pull together in every matter, because there are bound to be occasional conflicts in their national interests.

¹² Mookerjee speaking at Pune on 25 August asked the Government to follow Gandhiji's advice which according to him had been that the life and property of the Hindus in Pakistan should be protected even by using force.

21 As the atomic age advances, war ceases to be a means of furthering a foreign policy, because war becomes an instrument of universal destruction. If there can be any justification for war today, it can only be in pure self-defence or self-preservation against aggression. Where there is such an aggression and a challenge to the very existence of a nation, that challenge has to be met. Or else, the nation disintegrates.

22 In this dangerous and threatening state of the world, what are we to do? We cannot play a major part, but we can, perhaps, play some small part in either hastening or averting catastrophe. If we line up with either of the major contestants for world supremacy, we give up such little influence that we might possess in averting catastrophe and in that sense we hasten it. Keeping apart, we, and such other countries as function in the same way, at least keep an area free from the fever of war and can view events with some calmness and objectivity, and occasionally throw our weight on the side of peace. Thus, whether we look at this question from the point of view of narrow national interest or the larger one of world peace, the only policy we can pursue is one of non-alignment with the power blocs and trying to maintain friendly relations with all countries.

23. Our defence forces are small in comparison with those of the great powers. But we spend a very large part of our revenue on them. We have tried our utmost to limit this expenditure and, to a small extent, succeeded occasionally. The demand for our development schemes, which ultimately strengthen the nation, is very great. We shall continue to keep a vigilant eye on our defence expenditure. And, yet, in the world today we cannot afford to become weak and so we have to spend more on our defence apparatus than we should normally.

24. The Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa is attracting increasing attention.¹³ It is right that it should do

¹³ The movement had spread to Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Natal. See *ante*, p. 44.

so, for it is of the highest significance. It signifies the rebellion of the exploited and oppressed races in Africa against racial domination. It is fortunate that this revolt has taken place on peaceful lines. South Africa, which, under Gandhi, saw the beginnings of this new form of struggle, is now witnessing a new and vaster application of it. The Indian question in South Africa has been completely overshadowed by this new development, and it is right that it should be so. People of Indian origin in South Africa have joined hands with the Africans in this great struggle and thus far, in spite of the activities of the Malan Government, astonishing self-discipline has been shown by the passive resisters. Everyone in India, and indeed many abroad, will follow this struggle with the greatest sympathy and interest.

25. The Kashmir issue was discussed at length in both Houses of Parliament¹⁴ and the agreement¹⁵ arrived at with the Ministers of the Kashmir Government was approved by Parliament.¹⁶ The Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir state also gave its approval to this agreement.¹⁷ Subsequently, the Constituent Assembly came to a decision about their future head of the state.¹⁸ This was in accordance with the agreement. The resolution of the Constituent Assembly has been forwarded to our Government for necessary action on our part. We are giving consideration to it.

14. During the discussion on the agreement on 5 August in Rajya Sabha and on 5 and 7 August in Lok Sabha, while the Congress and Communist members welcomed the agreement, the members of Jan Sangh, Akali Dal, Ram Rajya Parishad and Praja Socialist Party criticised the agreement and demanded "full accession of the State" and no distinction to be made in the institution of Rajpramukhs.

15 See ante, p 56

16 The agreement was approved by the Rajya Sabha on 5 August and by the Lok Sabha on 7 August 1952

17 On 19 August 1952

18 On 21 August the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution recommending that the head of the state be elected and called Sadr-i-Riyasat.

26. There has been a new and unwelcome development in Kashmir. In recent weeks, we relaxed somewhat our vigilance on the ceasefire line, with the result that a large number of people came across from the Pakistan side to our side. Many of these were inoffensive persons, trying to return to their homes. But many were, undoubtedly, sent by Pakistan authorities to create trouble in Kashmir. Indeed, we have received information of special training being given at a number of places in Pakistan in methods of sabotage. Pakistan having failed in other ways has now adopted this new course of action. There were several serious acts of sabotage committed by these persons who had come from Pakistan. Attempts were made to assassinate Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad.¹⁹ The persons who were sent over for this purpose from Pakistan were arrested and have confessed. As a result of all this we are again tightening our arrangements on the ceasefire line and practically sealing it. This indicates how much vigilance is necessary on our side.

27. In Nepal the Ministry has fallen and the King²⁰ has taken direct charge of the administration with the help of advisers.²¹ This had become inevitable. It is unfortunate that the democratic processes of Government have failed in Nepal because of the utter lack of a democratic background. For some months past, the Nepal Government was hardly functioning. In the Terai areas, adjoining India, complete lawlessness prevailed. We did not interfere, as we thought that the Nepalese authorities must themselves deal with this situation. We are prepared to help, of course, where such help is needed and asked for.

19 (1907-1972) Leading member of the National Conference in Kashmir, Deputy Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1947-53 and Prime Minister, 1953-63.

20 Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Shah. For b fn. see Vol 1, p 362

21 Following the resignation on 10 August 1952 by M P Koirala, the Prime Minister, the King announced on 14 August that he would rule Nepal through his five advisers till an effective and representative council of Ministers could be set up

28 A recent note in a Hindi paper in Allahabad has created a furore.²² This note was a very offensive one against the Prophet Mohammad. The U.P. Government have rightly taken action on this note. But, meanwhile, Muslim demonstrations took place in many cities and some people even went so far as to suggest a boycott of the Independence Day celebrations on August 15th. This indicates how far we are yet from functioning in a truly non-communal way. I have been distressed greatly by the vulgarity of many references in some newspapers and periodicals. We talk about a secular State, but there are many who function in a bigoted manner if their passions are aroused. Communalism is essentially a primitive and uncivilized type of thought and behaviour, and if we are to advance, we have to get rid of this completely.

29 Although the general food situation shows improvement, in some parts of India, we have had famine or near-famine conditions.²³ The State Governments are doing their utmost to meet this serious situation.

30 I have often written to you about the housing problem and I am glad that a great deal of attention is being paid to this.²⁴ Generally, rather expensive schemes are drawn up in which a good deal of money is spent on erecting solid structures and not much thought is given to the social services which should go with them. I am convinced that the right approach is to arrange for social services such as water supply, sanitation, roads, lighting, drainage, etc., before any building is put up. Indeed, it is better to give the social

22 An article published on 5 August 1952 in *Amrit Patrika*, a Hindi daily, led to demonstrations of protest on 12 and 15 August in Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur and Moradabad in response to the call given by Khaksar and Muslim League leaders.

23 Reports of prevalence of famine conditions came from eastern Uttar Pradesh, parts of Bihar, Maharashtra, Madras and Saurashtra.

24 An All India Housing Conference was held in New Delhi on 25 and 26 August 1952 at which the Government announced an industrial housing scheme costing Rs. 9 crores for 1952-53.

services without a building than to have a building without those services.

31.²⁵ I have just returned from Kashmir. During my absence from Delhi, much has happened about which I would have liked to write to you, but I do not want to delay this letter. You will have noticed that, as expected, the talks with Dr. Graham in Geneva are not proceeding smoothly. The basic differences between India's attitude and Pakistan's attitude still remain and are likely to remain.

32. This morning in Srinagar I saw a parade of school and college students. This was very interesting and impressive. Great stress is being laid by the Kashmir Government on the physical side of training and the boys and girls appeared to be very smart. Apart from improving their physical condition, this has a powerful psychological effect. What interested me most were the small children from the kindergartens. These range from age three upwards. The Kashmir Government has started these kindergartens not only in the city but even in many villages in the Valley. They are spending very little money on them and all the apparatus required is locally produced. These children were enjoying themselves thoroughly in the parade and in the numerous games which they or their teachers had evolved for them. In addition to these athletic parades, which are held on a fairly big scale every month, there are smaller displays every week. I also witnessed boat races and swimming contests among school and college students. Altogether I was pleased and impressed by this aspect of educational progress in Kashmir.

33 Yesterday morning I made a somewhat unusual flight from Srinagar to the eastern border of Ladakh. The flight itself was very fascinating as we flew over the high mountains and glaciers and snowfields and had a fine view of famous mountain peaks, like Nanga Parbat. But the main interest was in the landing place. This has recently been constructed by our Army with the help of local Ladakhis.

²⁵ The last three paragraphs, 31-33, were written on 30 Aug from New Delhi

a height of 14,260 feet. This is understood to be the highest airfield in the world. It is situated very near the Tibetan frontier. This was a feat for which both our Army and Air Force can well take credit. It was a peculiar pleasure to me to visit this distant and isolated frontier of India and to meet the local people there. Normally, this place where we landed is a week's march from Leh and Leh itself is two weeks' march from Srinagar. We did the journey from Srinagar in less than two hours. That area in Ladakh, where we went to, is fairly rich in copper and sulphur.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
10 September, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

For a change I am writing to you rather earlier than usual. I am going away tomorrow to Indore for the meetings of the Congress Committees¹ and, as I shall be away for five or six days, I thought of sending you this letter before I left Delhi. During my stay at Indore, I hope to visit some of the Bhil areas and to meet the Bhils there.² As you perhaps know, I am greatly interested in the future of the tribal people. I think that they are a special trust for the nation and we have to pay particular attention to their well-being. That, indeed, was the policy of the national movement during past years, and that is the policy laid down in our Constitution.

2. Tribal people vary very greatly in their development and culture. Some of them are quite primitive; others are fairly advanced. They cannot be treated all in the same way and we have to adapt ourselves to the special conditions prevailing in each area. For any of us to consider that we are superior folk and to look down upon these tribal people is a species of snobbery and is not always justified even in fact.

3. The King of Nepal recently visited Delhi.³ The object of his visit was to say goodbye to his daughter, who has been ailing and who is going to Switzerland for treatment. But, as he came here, we profited by the occasion and had long talks. Those talks were far more on the personal and friendly level.

1 On 13 and 14 September 1952

2 On 15 September, Nehru addressed a meeting of the Bhils at Mandu

3 From 4 to 7 September 1952

than on the governmental level. It has been our definite policy to keep aloof from interfering in the domestic affairs of Nepal. But inevitably, help and advice from us have often been sought. We have at present a military mission in Nepal reorganizing the armed forces of the country. We have undertaken to build a cart-road from India to Nepal and we are improving the airfield near Kathmandu. The Nepal Government asked us some months ago to send them a batch of civil officers to help. Their original demand was a very big one and we hesitated to send so many people from outside. The matter was examined more fully and the number has been greatly reduced. Probably, we shall send a few such officers in the near future. This has nothing to do with the new developments in Nepal and the King taking charge of the administration.⁴

4. Nepal is rather a significant example of a country trying to build up a democratic structure without adequate preparation or background for it. After a hundred years of absolute monarchy and authoritarian government, suddenly the people of Nepal sense freedom and the bonds fall away. This heady wine goes to their heads and leads not to a disciplined exercise of that freedom, but to the development of all kinds of disruptive forces and petty groups, each pulling in its own direction. The Nepali Congress was the one major organization and was thus a stabilizing factor. The other stabilizing factor was the King. Unfortunately, the Nepali Congress itself has split up into three or four groups.⁵ It is immaterial which group is the biggest, because this process of splitting up weakens the organization all over

4. On 4 September 1952, the King of Nepal dismissed the Advisory Assembly.

5. The Nepali Congress was split into four groups, one led by B.P. Koirala who became the president of the party in May 1952; the second by M.P. Koirala who was expelled by the executive of the party on 5 August 1952 for defying the party's decision to reconstitute its cabinet; the third, a radical group led by Kedar Man Bhandari and Balchandra Shrestha who formed the Congress Socialist Group and the fourth by Shree Kail Mishra who formed the Jana Congress.

the country and permits rather reactionary groups, like the Gurkha League,⁶ to grow in relative importance.

5 The fact is that unity in a country is very much dependent upon certain physical factors, such as communications. Where there is a lack of communications and it takes long to go from one part to another, the governmental apparatus is weak and even organized national movements do not function effectively. Local officers have a large discretion and may behave or misbehave with impunity. Local popular leaders are thrown up and they are not under the discipline of a larger movement. Nepal lacks communications utterly, except for the small valley where Kathmandu is situated. That is the physical weakness of Nepal at present, apart from lack of trained personnel in any department of public activity. Then there are different types of people who pull, to some extent, in different directions. There are the Newars, people of the valley; there are the hill people, the Gurkhas; and there are the people of the Terai, adjoining India. These last named, the people of the Terai, are physically and culturally the nearest to India and have been influenced by our national movements to some extent. The Gurkhas have been cut off in the hills; the Newars have played a fairly important part in recent political changes in Nepal, because they happen to be in the capital and round about and are in a position to influence developments more than the others. But if the others wake up, they make a great difference. And this process of waking up has started. Because of this there is a complete lack of balance in Nepal at present. Our attempts in the past year and a half have been to maintain some kind of a balance. But, unfortunately, petty personal rivalries have again upset that balance. It is not because we interfered

6 The Gurkha Dal was organized by Babbar Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana with the support of the ruling Rana family to overthrow the Government in April 1951 with the army's help. The Government outlawed the Dal and purged the army. The Dal was later redesignated as the Gurkha Parishad.

in Nepal, but because circumstances made it inevitable that the King had to take charge of the administration. There was, for the moment, no group strong enough to do so. Even now the position appears to be that if one group is put in charge of the administration, another equally strong group or groups would probably oppose it and create trouble. In the circumstances, the King had to take charge and since he has done so, there is a measure of quiet in the country and what little has been done already has, on the whole, been appreciated. Of course, there is opposition and criticism.

6 I have mentioned above the importance of communications. The dominant factor of the age today, all over the world, is the tremendous improvement in communications of various kinds. It is this which has made the world much more closely knit together than ever before. It is this which gives far greater facilities for peaceful progress as well as for wholesale destruction. Indeed, the alternative before the world appears to be one or the other, or to put it differently, the development ultimately of some kind of a world order based on free nations co-operating together or world dominion by one mighty power. Of course, there is a third possibility and that is just chaos after tremendous destruction. Indeed, even the attempt to achieve world dominion by any one great power would lead to this destruction and chaos, whatever the ultimate result might be.

7 I remember that when Chiang Kai-shek⁷ came to India over ten years ago,⁸ and he looked at the map of India with its lines of communications, he said that he then understood both the strength of the British power in India and the real basis of our non-violent struggle. He was comparing India to China because China was very backward in internal communications and therefore the Central Government could not easily exercise dominion over the distant provinces. A rebellion might occur and there would be no means of putting it down for a long time. Compared to

7 For b fn see Vol 2, p 264

8 He was in India from 9 to 21 February 1942

China, India was much more developed in this and some other ways. But, compared to some other countries, India is much less developed. Large areas near our borders are bereft of communications because the British attached little importance to them, except in the North-West Frontier. The result has been that these areas are very backward and the people there suffered greatly. One cannot start the process of development anywhere till one builds roads and other communications which open out that area. This is the first problem for us in parts of Assam, of Uttar Pradesh, of Himachal Pradesh and East Punjab. Also, of course, in the Jammu and Kashmir state. Similarly, in Nepal, every scheme of development has to be preceded by roads.

8. The development of communications makes it easier to tackle a problem. By itself, it does not solve the problem. The problem essentially remains an economic one, of finding work and employment, of greater production, of greater wealth and greater capacity for capital formation and investment and thus a more rapid pace of development. That pace is unfortunately limited in countries like India because we have little surplus to throw into investment. Nevertheless, we have to increase that pace and find some way to do it. If orthodox methods come in the way, then other methods have to be adopted. The world today witnesses some kind of a race not only between nations, but also between various forces within a nation as well as in the world. The slow of pace lag behind and might go to the wall. The essential unity of the world that has developed because of the tremendous advancement in communications brings its dangers also and all these various forces impinge one upon the other all the time.

9. From time to time, we suddenly wake up to some new and unusual occurrence. We saw the disappearance overnight of the King of Egypt at the bidding of the military.⁹ That was a military coup and it is not quite clear

9 See ante, p 59

what other forces lay behind it, apart from military dissatisfaction. Since then other important developments have taken place in Egypt. Only a few days ago, Prime Minister Aly Maher¹⁰ and his Ministry resigned,¹¹ no doubt under pressure, and General Neguib¹² became not only Prime Minister, but also War Minister, Commander-in-Chief and now Military Governor. That is a fairly comprehensive list of functions and it shows that General Neguib and his group are in a dictatorial position. He has, practically speaking, put an end to all the political parties in Egypt.¹³ The only large party, and this is not strictly political though it interferes in politics, is the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁴ A member¹⁵ of this Brotherhood has been taken in the new Cabinet. It thus appears that there is a close relationship between the army group exercising control and the Muslim Brotherhood. Indeed, the programme of social

10 (1883-1960) Egyptian politician, Minister for Education, 1925-26, of Finance, 1928-29, of Justice, 1930-32, Head of the Royal Cabinet, 1935-37, Prime Minister, 1937, 1939-40 and 1952

11 Reacting to the arrest of prominent leaders by the army on 6-7 September and the demand by Neguib for immediate action to initiate the land reform programme, Aly Mehar resigned on 7 September 1952

12 General Muhammad Neguib (1901-1984) Egyptian army officer, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, July-September 1952, Prime Minister and Minister of War, September 1952-June 1953

13 On 9 September, the Egyptian Government asked all political parties to register themselves, purge corrupt elements from their ranks and deposit funds in an established bank within thirty days. This order was issued as the earlier notice of 1 August 1952 directing internal reorganization had not been fully observed

14 An ultra-conservative religious and political association with a para-military youth organization, founded in Egypt in 1929 and seeking to subordinate the social, political and constitutional life of the nation to Islamic tenets. The party was banned in 1948 as extra-constitutional but was permitted to resume activity in 1951

15 Sheikh Hassan el-Bakkour became Minister of Religious Foundations (Wakfs)

reform, including land reform,¹⁶ which General Neguib has pushed forward has practically been taken from the programme of the Muslim Brotherhood

10. The change that started with the military coup has now developed more revolutionary tendencies. It is not yet quite clear which way this movement will go and whether there will be internal conflicts or not. From all accounts, the Wafd Party¹⁷ is still the largest and the most popular and it may not be quite easy to suppress it. It is true that the Wafd became involved in many scandals and stories of corruption. But the party still has a strong national backing.

11. The Muslim Brotherhood is a curious organization started in recent years by a man¹⁸ of great organizational capacity. It was hardly a political movement and aimed at social reform. It is, in a sense, a movement with religious backing. Its programme of social reform may lead to some form of socialism or it may well develop in an authoritarian way towards some form of fascism.

12. What is happening in Egypt is, of course, important and interesting. But it will have its repercussions in the surrounding countries also and it is a symbol of our changing times. This should be a lesson to us so that we might not grow too static in our outlook and expect that the world or even India will progress in a slow evolutionary way. The progress may be evolutionary in India, but only if it is not slow.

16. The decree passed on 9 September 1952 placed a ceiling on ownership of land at 200 acres per head and permitted purchase and redistribution of surplus land by the state. Small landholders owning less than 5 acres were compelled to form agricultural co-operatives, and agricultural workers were assured wages regulated by law and given the right to form unions.

17. The Egyptian nationalist political party founded by Saad Zaghlul in 1914 to negotiate Egyptian independence with Britain. The party was at this time led by Mustafa Nahas Pasha.

18. Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949).

13. I am glad that at this moment we have got our Ambassador, Shri K M Panikkar, functioning in Cairo

14 Next month,¹⁹ the United Nations General Assembly is meeting in New York or nearby and we shall be sending, as usual, our delegation to it. The leader of this delegation will be Vijayalakshmi Pandit²⁰ who has a great deal of experience of the working of the U.N. She has served as Ambassador in Moscow and Washington, the two most important centres in world politics today. Indeed, it may be said that the future of the world depends largely on Washington and Moscow. She has also recently visited China and met the leaders there. She is, therefore, well fitted to understand the international situation and the problems that face us. I did not want to send her as she has been kept abroad for many years, but in view of the importance of this session and the grave problems that are bound to arise there, I decided to invite her to go.

15 There are many subjects in the U.N. agenda and, as you know, we propose to raise the question of the satyagraha movement in South Africa which is of high importance from the world point of view. But the real problem before the U.N. is probably not in the agenda at all. That is the problem of war and peace in the world. The future of humanity depends upon the solution of that problem. The present outlook is by no means cheerful or promising and it is only fear of war and its consequences that keep some nations in check. But that fear by itself is not enough and, indeed, leads one to war.

16 Therefore, the question arises how the U.N. should deal with this basic and vital matter. In effect, it is a question of the two great powers of this world, namely the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., coming to some arrangement or not. Each is afraid of the other and, to use the new phraseology, tries to "contain" the other. This process of containment gradually

19 From 14 October 1952

20 For b in see Vol 1, p 317.

spreads to all the world. The Soviet Union functions along its frontiers, but these frontiers are far flung from Central Europe to Central Asia and the Pacific Ocean. The U.S.A. functions or tries to function on all these border countries of the Soviet Union and of China and incidentally in other countries also. The question, therefore, is whether in this continuous conflict, spread all over Europe and Asia, there is a possibility of a recognition of each other's position and some kind of a settlement, however temporary, based on that. The attempt of either party to go beyond that position immediately leads to resistance and big scale war. This happened in Korea and the Korean war began in a relatively small way.²¹ Behind it, however, was the shadow of that major attempt to contain each other. When the 38th parallel was crossed by the American or the U.N. troops going north²² that brought China into the picture and the scope of the war was widened even though the area remained more or less limited.

17 The military position in Korea, in spite of the terrible bombing that has gone on is one of stalemate, or so it appears. From any reasonable or logical point of view, it seems absurd for such enormous expenditure of life and energy and such vast destruction just to maintain that stalemate, which yields no positive results to either party. Reason would dictate some settlement which would not only be good for the Far East but would immediately affect the tensions in Europe. Briefly put, the two major international problems today are Korea and Germany.

18 I remember being in Geneva in the summer of 1938. While I was there, Mr. Chamberlain,²³ the U.K. Prime

²¹ See Vol 2, p 118

²² See Vol. 2, p 218

²³ Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940) British politician, Chancellor of Exchequer, 1923-24 and 1931-37; Minister of Health, 1924-29, Prime Minister, 1937-40. signed the Munich Agreement with Hitler on 29 September 1938 conceding the demand for immediate German occupation of Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia

Minister, flew over to meet Hitler ²⁴ War was in the air In France, mobilization had been declared About that time also the British Navy was mobilized In Geneva, however, the League of Nations was meeting peacefully, discussing every problem but that vital problem of war and peace The hundreds of international organizations with their headquarters in Geneva were all paralyzed The situation was as unreal as it could well be and the poor League of Nations did not count at all If the United Nations also behaves in this way and ignores the most vital problems of the world, then inevitably this organization will also become completely unreal and fade away As a matter of fact, the U N is directly concerned with the Korean war, it is one of the parties to it, although strangely enough, it has little say in the matter except to give its moral backing and to pass occasional resolutions of condemnation ²⁵ This is a curious situation when this great organization has no power to control events, but is nevertheless committed to them and is dragged into them If the U N discusses the Korean war in the same way as it has done in the past, that is, to pass resolutions of condemnation or embargo, ²⁶ then it does not help towards a settlement That would merely be manoeuvring for position in the war A heavy responsibility rests with the U N and all countries connected with it not to allow the situation to drift helplessly but to try to come to grips with it and to find some way out

19 In India there is naturally some kind of a lull in politics since Parliament adjourned Attention has been diverted to the coming meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Indore and there is much controversy as to the relations of

24 Adolf Hitler For b fn see Vol 1, p 6

25 The reference is to the U N resolution passed on 1 February 1951, condemning China as an aggressor See Vol 2, p 330

26 The resolution imposing an embargo on China was passed by the United Nations on 18 May 1951 See Vol 2, p 394

Governments with popular bodies like the Congress.²⁷ Who is to have the final say or who is generally to control policies? This controversy is rather theoretical and academic. Obviously, if there is a real conflict between a Government representing a certain party and that party organization, both will suffer greatly. We have seen a minor instance of this in Nepal.²⁸ There should be co-operation between the two. There can be no rigid rules about this. On the one hand, a Government is responsible to the Legislature and can only continue to function if it has a certain freedom to do so according to its own judgment. On the other hand, if that party Government becomes isolated from the party and the sanction it derives from that party, then it ceases to have any real authority for long. Thus there must be a common approach in vital problems and at the same time no interference in the normal working of Government.

20 The rains in India are practically over, though it is still not certain what further calamity might come upon us. Sometimes floods come in the second half of September. The rains have not been as generous as we had hoped. In some parts of Madras, notably Rayalaseema and part of Mysore state, they have practically failed again. In some other parts they came too late. On the whole, however, the all-India outlook for the harvest is still fair. There are some parts of the country which have suffered great scarcity and even

27 In the debate, S K Patil, Bombay F C C President, favoured the principle of organizational supremacy, while K Hanumanthaya, the Chief Minister of Mysore, asserted that the distinction between the organizational and the parliamentary wings was no longer relevant. He therefore pressed for the creation of a post of Vice-President, a suggestion which had earlier been turned down by the Working Committee on 10 August, whereby the Prime Minister could be enabled to continue as President without organizational work suffering.

28 After B P Koirala took over as President of the Nepali Congress from M P Koirala in May 1952, he sought to assert the supremacy of the party by asking M P Koirala to reconstitute his cabinet. The latter resigned as Prime Minister on 6 August when he was expelled from the party for having refused to abide by its decision.

famine conditions. Among these are some of the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, and, more especially, Gorakhpur District. This is a heavily populated and a very poor area. Normal conditions are difficult there and the power of resistance of the average person is low. When a blow comes like a drought, the effect is much greater than in areas where people are better off. There is no doubt that large numbers of people there have suffered greatly from undernourishment and even sometimes starvation. There has been an argument as to whether people have died of starvation or not.²⁹ That argument has little meaning except that conditions have not been so bad as are normally described as famine, which brings about obvious deaths from starvation. But when there is undernourishment for long periods, the power of resistance goes and any additional misfortune snuffs out life. There can be little doubt that many people who even die from fever or some disease, die because of this long background of undernourishment. As a matter of fact, deaths often occur when a person who has suffered undernourishment or partial starvation for long suddenly takes a big and heavy meal. This upsets him completely.

21 Our State Governments do their utmost to meet such a situation and rush foodgrains where there is scarcity. They give out doles and they provide some work. But the situation, nevertheless, distresses one very greatly because it is basically derived from extreme poverty and undernourishment and the loss of the power to resist. We cannot change this by magic, but we must realize that this is a terrible blot on our country and we should not tolerate it willingly for a day. Here again we come up against the basic problem of the pace of development. This is an economic problem and however much we may dislike economics, we

29 On 7 September, J C Kumarappa stated that after an enquiry he had found that there had been eight starvation deaths between June and September 1952 in Gorakhpur district. The next day, the U P Government denied that any death due to starvation had taken place.

cannot ignore realities. But it is something much more than an economic problem; it is a human problem and it is from that human point of view that we must always consider it. Economics are meant for human beings, not human beings for some abstract science which does not satisfy their primary wants.

22. Our Five Year Plan is being finalized. It has been a unique experience for the draft outline plan to be produced a year ago and for this to be widely discussed all over the country and then for a final plan to emerge. That is democratic way of functioning, and yet I feel that all this discussion has after all been confined to a certain upper strata of our society which reads newspapers. The vast majority of our population know little about this plan. It seems to me essential that the common people should have some knowledge of it, some understanding of its significance, some appreciation of how it affects them. I think that some very simple pamphlets in Hindi and the provincial languages should be prepared and sent to all our village bodies and *gram panchayats* and the like for them to read and discuss it. These pamphlets should deal with the all-India problem as well as the special application of it to that State. There may be three such pamphlets—one dealing with the Five Year Plan as a whole, the second with community projects, and the third with river valley schemes.

23. There is another approach which is even more important, that is through our schools. These simple pamphlets should be sent to every school and the teachers ought to be asked to read them to their classes, to explain them and even to encourage a discussion on them. If we did this, we would give more real education to our children than they get from their textbooks. Maps could be used and the various areas of special development or river valley schemes or community projects could be pointed out. It should be stated that this is a beginning and we want to extend all this to other parts of India also. I commend this idea not only to the Planning Commission and the Education Ministry but to all State Governments.

24 In a little over four months, we shall have the celebrations of our Republic Day, January 26th. During past years we have had a very effective and impressive parade in Delhi followed by tableaux, which represented a kind of historical pageant of India. These tableaux were organized by school children and were fairly good. Nevertheless, there was much room for improvement. I feel that the celebrations on the 26th January should have certainly the military element but should also have an increasingly civil element in them. We might, for instance, in Delhi, organize something on a more ambitious scale. There would be the usual procession plus perhaps an exhibition plus also folk dances, more especially by tribal people. The conception of this procession and exhibition and everything else should be to demonstrate both the unity and great variety and diversity of India. This can only be done if States participate in these Delhi celebrations and take some responsibility for them. Each State could represent some distinctive feature of its own in the tableau or in the exhibition or both. Thus the procession would be a moving pageant of India in its rich diversity. The arts and crafts of each State could be represented in this way.

25 A part of these demonstrations might be the Grow-More-Food Campaign. Peasants and farmers who have won in the competitions could be invited at State expense to participate in these demonstrations and the tableaux could represent in various ways this idea of an abundance of food growing to feed this hungry land.

26 Then there could be folk dances. I would love to see in our procession people from various parts of India, including our tribal people, the Nagas from the North East, the Bhils from Central India, the Santhals and others showing that they are also full partners in this great enterprise of India going ahead. They could display their dances too, which are so attractive.

27. I have thrown out some ideas about the celebrations on January 26th. All this will require a great deal of organiza-

tion and full co-operation between the States and the Central Government. There is not much time left and the sooner we begin thinking of this and organizing it, the better. It would be a good thing if we could hold a meeting in Delhi say in the second week of October, to consider this matter. Each State could send a representative. He need not be a senior officer. It would be better to send a young and enthusiastic person with ideas. At that meeting some general decisions can be taken and we can go ahead preparing accordingly.

28 Some recent incidents regarding the gift of foodgrains, etc., for relief in scarcity areas from the Soviet Union and China have drawn some public attention.³⁰ A relief committee in Andhra, sponsored and organized by the Communists there, made a direct appeal to certain organizations in China and the Soviet Union for help. In response, these organizations in China donated over rupees four lakhs which were paid over to the Indian Red Cross to begin with, but immediately after the Indian Red Cross was asked to hand this sum over to the Andhra Committee. The Red Cross Committee replied that they would gladly use the money for relief but they could not hand that money over to a private agency. Later, the money was returned to these organizations in China through the Chinese Embassy.

29 The Russian organizations announced that they were sending 10,000 tons of wheat, 5,000 tons of rice, 550,000 tons of tinned milk and rupees two and a half lakhs to the Andhra Committee. Our Government informed the Soviet Government that we appreciated this gesture of friendship, but we could not agree to any foreign government or organization dealing directly with private organizations in India for relief. It is clear that if we had permitted this kind of direct contact between organizations in foreign countries

30 On 5 September 1952, the Government of India clarified that food gifts from abroad should be routed only through Government agencies and the Indian Red Cross Association. "The question of relief is not a party or political question and, therefore, it is Government's desire to keep this apart from and above political controversies."

and certain groups in India, this would have led to all manner of complications. We are following this rule in regard to all countries, including the U S A , from where many gifts have come

30 The Kashmir talks in Geneva have apparently ended without producing any substantial results ³¹ We expect Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar back here in another three days. Meanwhile, there has again been some wild talk in Pakistan,³² probably meant to impress world opinion more than anything else

31 Some recent incidents in Hyderabad have been very distressing. This began by a foolish agitation against non-Mulkis, that is, against the employment in the state of people from outside the state. The students started it, but soon it went out of their hands and others joined in. Ultimately this grew and assumed big proportions and much damage was done and a number of people were killed by police firing.³³ I do not wish to go into the merits of this at

31 The talks ended inconclusively on 10 September 1952 after a fortnight as Pakistan questioned India's right to ensure the state's security both internally and externally and claimed equal status for the forces on both sides. To this India objected on the ground that maintenance of troops as against civil forces in the area under the unlawful occupation of the rebel forces constituted a violation of India's sovereignty over the area. These differences gave rise to wide divergence between Indian and Pakistani views on the quantum and character of the forces to be left in Kashmir. India also insisted that it would accept appointment of a plebiscite administrator only when she was satisfied that demilitarization as desired by her had taken place.

32 On 31 August, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Chief Minister of West Punjab, called upon the Pakistan Government to break away from the United Nations because "independence of Pakistan without Kashmir was incomplete." On 4 September, Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman, convenor of the Moslem People's Organization said that Pakistan preferred to "have Kashmir to plebiscite."

33 On 3 September 1952, two persons were killed in Hyderabad when police resorted to firing on a demonstration organized against non-domiciles in state services. On 5 September, the students' agitation was called off.

10 September, 1952

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this stage. But this does show how from small beginnings and a little incident, grave developments can take place, if care is not taken. It shows also how there has grown up an atmosphere of violence in our country and how anti-social elements take advantage of this whenever they can. Another most important fact is how some newspapers in India inflame popular passions and behave in a manner which is utterly deplorable. This is not a matter of political difference, but of utter vulgarity and indecency. It is a bad thing for the country if our public taste is lowered in this way by some of our newspapers. A great deal is said about the freedom of the Press and when the Government brought some mild legislation about the Press recently,³⁴ there was some outcry, and yet here we are having the minds of many people poisoned by these constant outpourings of communal passion, vulgarity and indecency. Some way out will have to be found.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

³⁴ See Vol 2, p 502

New Delhi
2 October, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last I have spent some days in Madhya Bharat¹ and some days in Hyderabad state.² I went to Indore to attend the meeting of the All India Congress Committee and took advantage of this to pay a visit to some places in Madhya Bharat. This State is full of history, both ancient and medieval. Ujjain³ brings back to mind a period of cultural greatness which shines in our past annals. I went to Mandu also.⁴ I had heard of this for a long time past, but had never visited it. Having seen it, I wondered why it was so little known in India. It is full of history, romance and beauty. Madhya Bharat is the connecting link between North and South India and, as such, it has played an important part in history. It is a rich area and there is great room for development. Even in this rich and fertile land, there were some scarcity areas which had been hit hard by drought. This drought had particularly hit the area where large numbers of Adivasis or Bhils lived. I could not go into the heart of this Bhil area, round about Alirajpur, but I met many thousands of them at Mandu itself. I find them a very attractive people and I think more and more how we should consider these and other tribal folk as a trust for the nation requiring every help and care from us.

2 You must have seen the resolutions passed by the

1 From 15 to 17 September 1952

2 From 24 to 29 September 1952

3 Nehru visited Ujjain on 16 and 17 September 1952

4 On 15 September 1952

A I C C at Indore I should like to draw your particular attention to them, more particularly to the resolutions on Foreign Policy,⁵ South Africa⁶ and Economic Policy.⁷ None of these represents any break from the past. They flow from the policy we have thus far pursued, but, in some measure, they go a little further and are more specific.

3. The death of Kishorelal Mashruwala,⁸ who had been editing the *Harijan*⁹ for the past few years, was a particularly sad event. He was one of the old and sturdy band who represented Gandhiji's ideas in many respects and who spoke and wrote fearlessly from week to week. Such men are the salt of the earth and we require them in India particularly. We talk so much of Gandhiji and yet we drift away, almost unknowingly, from many things that he taught us. In the problems that confront us we miss his wise guidance and burning faith. I write this on the day of his birth.

5 The resolution passed on 18 September condemned imperialism and colonialism wherever they still existed and the vast amount of money spent by the big nations on armaments. It called upon the Great Powers to take concrete steps to resolve their differences and find solutions to the major problems facing the world. It also reaffirmed the Congress policy that Indians abroad should demand no special privileges in the countries where they were settled.

6 The resolution on racialism and satyagraha in South Africa expressed gratification at the co-operation between Africans and Indians in their struggle against the 'white' racist regime and appealed to the world community to appreciate the significance "of this great happening in Africa and to lend the weight of their moral support to this righteous struggle."

7 The resolution called upon the Government to take steps to increase production and reduce disparities, achieve economic growth through structural changes in the economy which would also stimulate capital formation and its investment in development schemes, and create a suitable climate for the growth of industry and trade through the State and co-operative ventures. The resolution also stressed the need for self-sufficiency in food and growth of small scale industry.

8 (1891-1952) Associated with Mahatma Gandhi and worked actively for the promotion of basic education, Registrar of Gujarat Vidyapith, 1921-24, Editor of *Harijan*, 1948-52.

9 Weekly started by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937.

anniversary—Gandhi Jayanti. And so, even more than usual, our thoughts go to him and the message he gave us. Conditions change and we have to face new problems from day to day. It is not enough for us to ignore these changing conditions and to apply some remedy, which might not be suitable or appropriate. But certain basic approaches need not necessarily change with the changing times.

4 I spent six very full days in Hyderabad state.¹⁰ For the first time I went into the interior of the state and visited not only some well-known towns but passed by innumerable villages and saw innumerable people. Vast crowds met me everywhere. Indeed it was surprising how many people came to my meetings or stood by the roadside which they had decorated. It was heartening to see these people and to witness their enthusiasm. And yet whenever this happens, a feeling of sadness comes over me. These people give so much of their faith and affection, how much do we give them in return?

5 Hyderabad, as everyone knows, has very special problems of its own. It was, more perhaps than any state in India, except some in Rajasthan, a feudal state. The police action and after has upset, rightly, this feudal structure, it has also upset the old unstable communal balance. That had to be done. But all this has brought about many unfortunate results also and it takes time to settle down. Before the police action, there was much tyranny on the part of the Razakars. After the police action, in some parts of the state, more especially on the western side, there was brutal retaliation against the Muslims. One evil led to another, but evil does not solve any problem. And now we have to contend against the consequences of both these evils. In Osmanabad, especially, I found many Muslim widows and children, who were in distress. Something had been done for them during the last year or two, but much remained. Apart from the question of giving them relief or some kind of work, there

was a social problem, which was even more difficult to tackle. I hope that a better and organized effort to this end will now be made.

6 Hyderabad suffers in some parts from scarcity and drought and generally from the common ill of many parts of India, unemployment. To this has been added special unemployment by changes in the old feudal structure as well as in the Services and the disbandment of the old army. All this was no doubt inevitable, but the problem remains and has to be tackled. The financial resources of the state have been strained to the utmost and there was general complaint there that they had not received a fair deal from the Centre. I am sure that every complaint with any substance in it will be most carefully considered by the Central Government.

7 A few days before my visit to Hyderabad, there had been disturbances¹¹ there which started because of what is called the Mulki agitation. This was a protest against the employment of people from outside the state. There was a tendency in the years immediately following the police action to bring in large numbers of people from the surrounding States—Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay. Many of these have gone back, but some remain. Some of those who were imported did not function very satisfactorily and many complaints were probably justified. The real reason, however, for this agitation was the prevailing unemployment and the fear that the so-called outsiders will displace people from the state. There was some justification for this feeling, but this whole business of Mulki and non-Mulki is, of course, all wrong. Subsequently the agitation went into other hands and there were disturbances for two or three days. By the time I reached Hyderabad, all this was over, but the problem of unemployment continues.

8 Another agitation, though this is more or less confined to certain top people, is against the decision to make the

¹¹ See *ante*, p 108.

Osmania University a central university.¹² Partly this agitation was due to a misunderstanding and partly, I think, to political reasons, wholly unconnected with educational matters. I am quite convinced that it is desirable for the Osmania University to be a central university. This is good for India as a whole, for the South, but more particularly for Hyderabad state itself. I think the opposition to this is entirely misconceived.

9. Then there is the cry for a division of Hyderabad on a linguistic basis.¹³ For my part, I am entirely opposed to this. If it is accepted, I am sure that it would retard progress in Hyderabad for many long years and would create all manner of problems and upset the balance of South India. All our Five Year Plans and the like will have to be put on the shelf till some new equilibrium is reached.

10. As I motored long distances across Hyderabad state, I was charmed by the Deccan scenery. In the north of India, we have, generally speaking, flat plains terminating in very high mountains. In the Deccan there is hardly any flat space and the countryside represents a changing and varying aspect, which is very attractive. It was all the more attractive because of the greenery caused by the monsoon rains.

11. I visited the Tungabhadra Project¹⁴ also and was delighted to find how near completion this was. Whenever I see these great engineering works, I feel excited and

12 The proposal was opposed by Congressmen as well as the members of the Opposition and ultimately the Government of India decided not to make Osmania a central university.

13 On 17 August, V. D. Deshpande, leader of the People's Democratic Front in the Hyderabad Assembly, speaking at the All India Linguistic Provinces Conference at Amravati, demanded that Hyderabad be divided linguistically so that parts of it could later merge in Greater Maharashtra and Mahavidharbha.

14 The project, jointly undertaken by Mysore, Madras and Hyderabad included a masonry dam across the river Tungabhadra, a tributary of the Krishna river, near Mallapuram in Bellary district. Work on the project was started in 1945 and the first waters were released on 30 June 1953.

exhilarated. They are visible symbols of building up the new India and of providing life and sustenance to our people I wish we had the means and resources to do this on an even larger scale all over India.

12. From this site of the Tungabhadra dam, I journeyed to the ruins of Vijayanagar¹⁵ nearby. It was an all too hurried visit. But even so I was powerfully impressed by the magnitude and magnificence of these relics of the old Vijayanagar Empire. The stone carvings and the friezes were very beautiful.

13. I have now come back to Delhi for just four or five days' stay and am going down South again, this time to Madras city and the Rayalaseema area on the 4th October. Rayalaseema, and the adjoining areas of Mysore and Hyderabad, have been peculiarly unfortunate for several years. The hopes we had nourished that this year at least they might have adequate rain have been falsified and distress continues. My visiting these areas will not bring additional relief to them. But it will bring some satisfaction to me that I have at least gone there and it may be perhaps, that some little part of that satisfaction might come to the people who have suffered so much. It is clear to me that the kind of relief that we organize in these famine and scarcity areas, important and inevitable as it is, is no solution whatever of the problem. We cannot wait for rain year after year or pray for it. We have to devise other methods, if not to produce rain, at least to produce work. The main problem today in considerable parts of India is not lack of the availability of food, but lack of purchasing power. The only solution, therefore, is to increase our production and give more purchasing power to the people. To some extent, of course, we are doing this through our various works and our Five Year Plan. But probably something more is needed in these particular areas and, as far as I can see, this can only be in the shape of small schemes and cottage industries. We have at present many

¹⁵ Founded in 1336, it was destroyed in 1565 by the combined armies of Golconda, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.

such scarcity areas, apart from Rayalaseema and neighbourhood They are the south-eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh, parts of Bihar, where again the Kosi has drowned numerous villages in its floods, some of the Karnataka districts of Bombay State, parts of Madhya Bharat and several other areas

14 After my return from Madras, I shall spend a few days in Delhi and then pay a visit to the North East Frontier Agency, which comprises some of our important tribal areas, including the Nagas From there, I shall go to Manipur and Tripura ¹⁶ All these border areas tend to be neglected somewhat and I have long wanted to visit them This wish of mine is at last likely to be gratified and my discovery of India will thus continue There can be no end to this discovery in this great country with its fascinating variety

15 There has been much argument about our handloom industry and various proposals have been put forward to encourage it ¹⁷ Everyone knows that the handloom industry is our biggest cottage industry and employs a very large number of skilled workers From every point of view it has to be encouraged For some time past it suffered from lack of yarn That lack is being gradually removed or lessened The real difficulty now is due to the lack of purchasing power of the people There are large stocks of handloom goods and merely to encourage more production without sale will not help It is necessary, therefore, to encourage sales and we come up there with the fact that handloom products are somewhat more expensive, even

16 Nehru visited Assam, N E F A , Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura from 19 to 25 October 1952

17 Controversy centred round the demand of the handloom weavers associations, which was also supported by C Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras, for reserving to them production of *dhous* and *sarees* On 11 September, T T Krishnamachari, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, announced that a high-powered committee would be appointed to examine all aspects of the textile industry and a textile commissioner made responsible for the distribution of yarn

though they might be better in many ways, and thus are more difficult to sell. The Government of India are paying a great deal of attention to this matter and have already taken some steps, which I hope will bear fruit.

16 I have written to you previously about gifts of food-grains and money from trade unions in Soviet Russia and in China for relief in South India.¹⁸ We would not agree to private organizations accepting these gifts and dealing with them. Subsequently, both the Russian and the Chinese trade union organizations agreed to hand over these gifts to the Indian Red Cross and they were accepted with gratitude. Russian wheat and rice have just arrived in Madras by sea and have been received by the Red Cross representatives. It will be utilized in giving relief in Rayalaseema and in the affected areas of Mysore and Hyderabad. These gifts are substantial, more especially that from Soviet Russia.

17. There has been a certain relaxation of control on cotton cloth.¹⁹ The sugar policy for the next season has also been laid down²⁰ and the price of sugarcane has been reduced. This will bring down the price of sugar also.

18 On 20 September 1952, the Government accepted ten thousand tons of wheat, five thousand tons of rice, five lakh tons of condensed milk and a sum of rupees two and a half lakhs from the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions, and a gift of Rs 4,21,940 from five Chinese peoples' organizations for distribution in drought-affected areas in Madras State. The donors agreed to distribution through the Indian Red Cross. Earlier, the Indian Red Cross had also received rupees four lakhs from the Chinese organizations.

19 On 27 September 1952, the Government announced decontrol of price on *dhotis*, *sarees* and some other varieties of cloth. The price of yarn was also decontrolled except for the varieties of yarn supplied to handloom industry. The Government, however, decided to continue control on the production of cloth.

20 On 25 September, the Government fixed the minimum price for purchase of sugarcane by the factories but fixed no statutory price for the sale of sugar, *gur* and *khandasari*. Provision was however made that in case the price of sugar rose, the Government would offset it by releasing sugar from its own stock.

18 Our Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan,²¹ is at present visiting some of the capitals of Europe.²² He went to Cairo first and was given a very enthusiastic reception there both by the Government and the people. We have been informed that his visit produced a marked effect. He is now in Rome. This tour of the Vice-President has no special significance in the sense that he is not bearing any message to these capitals, but from another point of view, it is of high significance both by virtue of his high position in India and his great experience and reputation. He is a very fine ambassador of India, carrying India's message and explaining her policy in these different countries.

19. Our Ambassador in Nepal, Shri C P N Singh,²³ has relinquished his post after completing a little more than his full term there. He is being succeeded by Shri B K Gokhale,²⁴ who retired from service recently. The post of our Ambassador in Nepal is a delicate and important one because of our close relations with that country and the new problems that are continually arising there. For the present, there is quite in that country and the King's administration is apparently welcomed by the people as a whole.

20. There has recently been a merger of the Socialist Party with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party.²⁵ The new party that has emerged from this is called the Praja Socialist Party. There have been many criticisms of this merger. I think, however, that we should welcome it as it is better to have a small number of well-organized parties than a multitude of groups.

21. In Egypt, it would appear that the revolutionary urge has largely exhausted itself. But perhaps it is premature to

21 For b in see Vol 1, p 416

22 He visited Cairo, Rome, Geneva, Berlin, Paris and London for a month from 25 September 1952

23 For b in see Vol 1, p 361

24 (1892-1973) Joined ICS, 1915, and served in Bihar and Orissa, Secretary to President, 1951-52, Ambassador to Nepal, 1952-55, Chairman, Tungabhadra Project, 1956-65

25 This was announced on 26 September 1952

form an opinion. A conflict has arisen between the Government and the Wafd Party²⁶ As there appear to be inner dissensions within the Wafd Party, probably the Government will have its way.

22 Dr Graham's report to the Security Council about his efforts at mediation in regard to Kashmir has just been published²⁷ There is nothing very new in it and the position remains more or less where it was. So far as we are concerned, we can accept no major change in the position we have taken up We have gone as far as we can possibly go

23 Some recent proposals²⁸ made on behalf of the U.N Commanders at Panmunjom offer some hope of a truce in Korea, but it is difficult to be optimistic after the failure of so many efforts

24. This morning, as usual, many of us visited Rajghat and paid tribute to Gandhiji. It seems long ago since he left us And yet at other times the feeling of his presence is strong and vivid Though we may drift away somewhat from our old moorings, something of that gracious memory lingers, something of that inspiration endures, and a sentinel voice sounds in our ears

25. After Rajghat, I went to the village of Alipur in Delhi State to participate in the inauguration of the community

26 In response to Government's call to purge all political parties of corrupt elements, Mustafa Nahas Pasha, leader of the Wafd Party, suspended some members of the party on 12 September and dissolved it on 18 September pending its reorganization as per new rules However, following the demand for removal of Nahas Pasha by the army leadership which was also supported by the young members of the Wafd Party, Nahas Pasha resigned on 6 October 1952 as the leader of the party

27 On 24 September 1952, Graham reported his failure to effect an agreement between India and Pakistan on demilitarization in Kashmir.

28 On 28 September 1952, the U N Command proposed that both sides should agree to bring prisoners to the demilitarized zone for identification, and those resisting repatriation be either sent to demilitarized zone for further interviews by the representative of the country mutually agreed upon or be set free to go to any place of their choice.

centres scheme.²⁹ All over India at this time these projects were being started.³⁰ The beginning is a small one, but there is something really big in the conception behind these community projects. That idea is to change the whole face of rural India and to raise the level of the vast majority of our population. It is a dynamic and revolutionary conception if we could but grasp it and give effect to it through organized and continuous work. Some of us at Alipur made a symbolic gesture of helping in the building of a road. That was a small and insignificant effort, and yet, perhaps, in the wider scheme of things, that manual work had greater significance than much else that I do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29 The scheme envisaged the involvement of the villagers in officially sponsored projects for all-round development of the rural areas.

30 The scheme was introduced in 55 projects all over the country comprising 18,464 villages covering an area of 26,950 sq miles and a population of about twenty million.

New Delhi
17 October, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you again on the eve of my departure from Delhi for a week's tour.¹ I am going to Calcutta tomorrow morning and after a day and night's stay there, I shall proceed to Assam. This visit to Assam is especially meant for the North-Eastern Agency, Manipur and Tripura. I am greatly looking forward to this visit as I am attracted to these frontier regions and the people who live there.

2 I have decided to spend a day in Calcutta on my way to Assam because of the new situation that has arisen in West Bengal owing to a sudden increase in the number of refugees coming from East Pakistan. Apart from the normal causes of this movement, there can be no doubt that the proposal to introduce the passport system² frightened many people and made them think that it might not be possible to cross the frontier later. Because of this there was a rush and a difficult situation was created in Calcutta where these large numbers of refugees continued to arrive by every train, as well as on foot, across the border. It has not been an easy matter to deal with these refugees. The Central Rehabilitation Minister, Shri A P Jain,³ has also proceeded to Calcutta. At my request the Bihar Government have been good enough to agree to accommodate 15,000 of these refugees. I have made a

¹ Nehru returned to New Delhi on 26 October 1952.

² The passport system between India and Pakistan came into force on 15 October 1952.

³ For b fn see Vol 2, p 435.

similar request to the Orissa Government and I hope that they will also agree

3. I have given you, from time to time, the figures for the movement of Hindus and Muslims between East and West Bengal Throughout this year up to the end of August 1952, as in the previous two years, there was on the whole a movement of both Hindus and Muslims to East Bengal from West Bengal That is to say, that, in the balance, more people went to East Bengal than came to West Bengal There were exceptions to this general trend in the months of June, July, August and September 1951 From October 1951, there was a marked tendency for an excess of Hindus as well as an excess of Muslims to go to East Bengal from West Bengal

4 In September 1952, however, there was a slight excess of Hindus coming to West Bengal from East Bengal The figures for the month of September were

Hindus going to West Bengal	..	178,434
Hindus going to East Bengal	.	176,471

From the daily figures, it appears that this change-over took place about the 19th September From that day onwards, there were more Hindus coming from East Bengal to West Bengal In October, this new trend continued During the first eight days of October, 76,312 Hindus came to West Bengal and 55,885 Hindus went to East Bengal Thus, there was an excess of over 20,000 coming to West Bengal This continued till the 15th October when the passport system was introduced

5 It is clear that this major movement was due to some panic on account of the passport system. It was also due to the deteriorating economic conditions of Pakistan and to the harassment of the minority community there

6 You will remember that it was Pakistan that proposed the introduction of the passport system ⁴ We resisted this for some time, but on their insistence we agreed Since then very complicated arrangements have been made and much

⁴ See *ante*, p 7

money has been spent on preparations. The date, 15th October, was finally fixed for the introduction of this system. About a week or so before this date,⁵ rather suddenly, Pakistan wanted a postponement for a month of this date. The reason they gave was that they had not been supplied with an adequate supply of visa forms or some other papers by us. This was not correct, as we had sent them what they asked for and were prepared to send them more. Normally we would have had no objection to this postponement. But in view of the abnormal conditions that had arisen in East Bengal and West Bengal and the influx of refugees into Calcutta, any postponement of this date would have aggravated the crisis by continuing a feeling of uncertainty. We were perfectly prepared to scrap the passport system completely. We were not prepared to postpone it for a few weeks. That would have meant another month of trouble and mounting crisis in West Bengal. A final decision had to be made this way or that way. We made this clear to the Pakistan Government.⁶ A day or two before the fixed date, a final appeal was made to me by the Pakistan Prime Minister⁷ for postponement.⁸ I was unable to agree to this,⁹ though we expressed our willingness to relax certain rules for a few days so as to avoid, as far as possible, difficulty and inconvenience.

7 The passport system, therefore, came into force on the 15th October and there has naturally been a considerable reduction in the immediate traffic between West Bengal and East Bengal. In the case of Hindus, who had already come to the border, we are allowing them to come over with the least of formality. Generally speaking, we are not following the rules very strictly for the next week or two.

8 It was curious for Pakistan, after its initial insistence on the passport system, to try to postpone it. Obviously this was

5 On 7 October 1952

6 On 9 October 1952

7 Khwaja Nazimuddin. For b fn see Vol 1, p 327.

8 On 10 October 1952

9 This was communicated to the Pakistan Government on 13 October 1952

due to some kind of pressure on them, the pressure of events. From such information as we have received, it appears that the economic deterioration in East Pakistan is fairly rapid and, unless some marked change takes place, conditions will progressively worsen there. Even the Muslim population there is considerably worried over this. Many Muslims, including the employees of the Pakistan Government, who have special interests or properties in India, were upset by this passport rule and brought considerable pressure to bear upon their Government. I hope that now that we have come to final decisions, the feeling of uncertainty will go and some measure of normality will come in regard to the traffic between East and West Bengal.

9 I have recently visited the Rayalaseema districts in Madras and some parts of Mysore state,¹⁰ where the rains having failed, scarcity conditions prevailed. I also spent some days in Madras city. This visit of mine to the South after nearly a year gave me a deeper understanding of the South. Madras city grows upon one and the more I go there, the more I like it. But apart from the city, the whole landscape of the South and, more especially the typical Deccan landscape of Rayalaseema, Mysore, and Hyderabad, appeal to me greatly, with its rolling downs and little hills and rock structures standing up defiantly in the middle of the plain. The colours of these hills were changing almost from moment to moment and were fascinating to watch. The people, in spite of their distress, were very friendly and attractive.

10 But I did not go there to watch the scenery, I went to see for myself the conditions of distress. These were apparent in the dried up fields and the pinched and famished faces of the people. There had fortunately been some rain just about the time of my visit and this came as a welcome change. But it could make no immediate difference to the distress. The State Governments had done a great deal to help. In

10. From 5 to 9 October 1952.

Rayalaseema about half a million persons were fed daily at the gruel kitchens. Nearly 75% of these were children and it pained me to see them huddled up together with beggars and the halt and the lame. I suggested to the Madras Government that these children should be separated and fed in schools. Where there were no schools, I suggested that a temporary school should be established. This school need have no building or other equipment—just a teacher for the village, who could be put in charge of some kind of elementary training, including some games, etc., and simple kinds of basic work. That teacher would also give them a free meal daily. I am glad to say that this suggestion has been largely accepted by the Madras Government.

11 I think more and more that if we are to give any widespread training to the millions of our children who have no schools to go to at present, we should adopt some such method and not waste a rupee on buildings. I would, in particular, like this to be done for the little children of kindergarten age.

12 Since I wrote to you last, the community projects have been started all over India. I enclose a sheet which gives you some information about them.¹¹ This sheet does not say anything about Jammu and Kashmir state. As a matter of fact, we are having three blocks there also—in Kashmir proper, in Jammu Province and in Ladakh. We have separated these from the others, because we are having some American help for the others. We did not wish any American help to be applied to the Kashmir state for obvious reasons and so we are shouldering that burden separately and by ourselves. These community projects are not just ordinary development centres but have a wider and deeper significance. I believe that they can bring about a revolutionary change in our rural areas if we proceed about them in the right way. It would indeed be a triumph of the first magnitude if in this way, peacefully and without internal

¹¹ Not printed.

conflict, we can spread the gospel of work and, what is more, of self-help and thus help in building up our new India. I am sure you appreciate the full importance of these projects and that your Government will try its utmost to make them a success. That success does not depend on governmental effort alone but much more on the co-operation obtained from the people and a new atmosphere of co-operative and enthusiastic effort that we can produce. I have met many of our project and village officers under training and I have been impressed by them. After all, the success of our scheme largely depends upon these workers.

13. Yesterday and today we have been discussing the draft report of the Planning Commission which contains the Five Year Plan.¹² The draft itself is rather voluminous and it is not easy to consider such a big report in all its manifold aspects. Naturally we have concentrated on some major points in it. In the draft Plan, we have tried to go as far as we possibly can, without taking undue risks about our economy. We tabulate our resources and try to estimate what they are, using such statistical and other data that we may possess. The human factor, however, is not easy to appraise or tabulate. A people who take up anything with faith and enthusiasm bring an amount of energy which is incalculable. So, much depends upon the way we tackle this great effort. It will depend on the efficiency and deep interest of Governments, it will depend even more on how we can make our people appreciate the fullness and significance of this Plan which is the result of more than two years of hard labour. It is not merely a Plan conceived and put out by a few persons who are members of our Planning Commission. It is definitely the result of a joint effort of large numbers of people. The Planning Commission has consulted every prominent group in India and discussed various aspects of the Plan with them. A little over a year ago, they published the draft outline Plan. This attracted a great deal of attention.

¹² The Planning Commission discussed the revised draft Plan with members of the Congress Working Committee on 16 and 17 October 1952.

as well as a great deal of criticism. The Commission has taken advantage of this criticism to revise the Plan in many particulars. The Plan is thus truly the result of a democratic approach and widespread discussion and consideration.

14 The Planning Commission are now consulting well-known organizations again. Members of the Congress Working Committee are discussing the Plan with them. Other parties and groups like the Praja Socialist Party will also do so. The advisory bodies of the Planning Commission will then give its consideration. Finally, the draft Plan will be put up before the Cabinet. Perhaps some time towards the end of November it may be published and placed on the table of Parliament for discussion there.

15 It must be remembered that the five years of the Plan really began nearly two years ago and therefore part of the Plan has already been functioning, though not as an integrated whole. Only a little over three years now remain of this five year period.

16 The Plan, as conceived, is really meant to prepare the ground for more rapid progress during the next stage. It is a preparation for progress, though no doubt certain results will be obtained even during this period. We have to lay the strong foundations of future advance. If we are not too anxious to eat our cake today, we shall have much more tomorrow.

17 In a sense, this Plan will be finalized and I hope that all of us in India will endeavour to give effect to it. But there can be no real finality about planning as it depends on developments as they take place and we have to learn from the experience we gather in working it. We shall adhere to the Plan, but we shall not hesitate to add to it or to vary it if circumstances so require. Our resources are limited and do not come anywhere near our wishes in this matter. But it is quite possible that we might be able to add to our resources by means which cannot at present be easily computed. This can be by some other forms of utilization of our manpower, for ultimately labour is capital. Also with a proper drive we

might encourage saving in many ways and use this for development purposes. In order to give a further incentive to this saving, we might utilize the money for the development of the particular area concerned. We have, therefore, to look upon development loans and saving schemes, whether of the Centre or of the States, not as something to be carried through by governmental effort alone, but something which require the fullest measure of public support. Apart from the money and labour thus obtained, we want to give a sense of partnership to millions of people in India—a partnership into this magnificent adventure of building up new India.

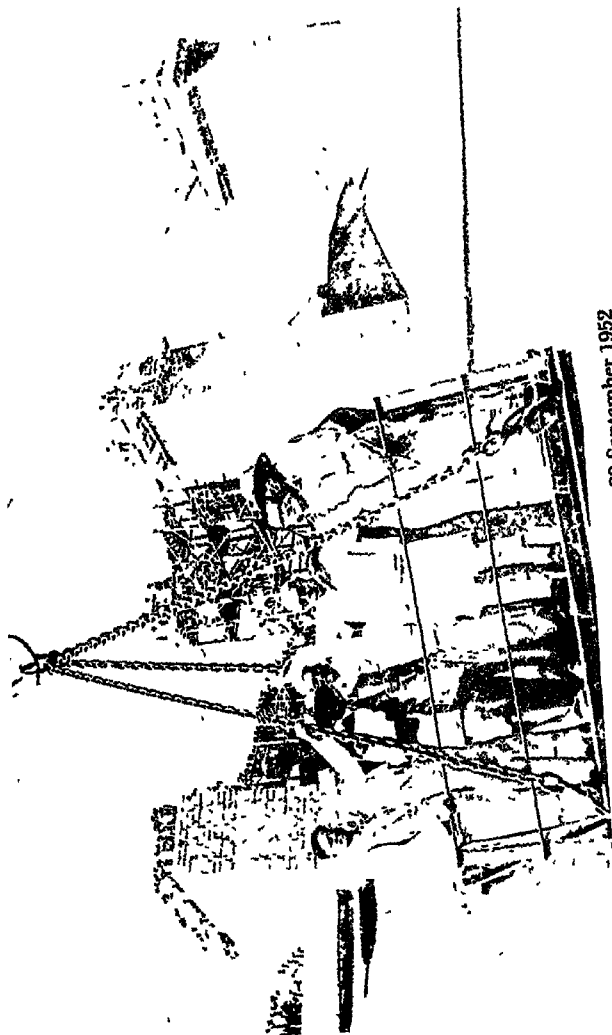
18. We have had a notable conference in New Delhi a few days ago, a conference of all the Finance Ministers of the States in India.¹³ For two full days this conference discussed a number of basic problems. Naturally, in the space of two days, specific decisions could not easily be arrived at about every matter, but a good deal of light was thrown on many subjects and some general conclusions were arrived at.¹⁴ I believe there was a widespread feeling that the conference had done good.

19. There is a feeling among some Part B States that they have not been very fairly treated in the scheme of financial integration.¹⁵ In the usual course this matter can be revised after five years. But where a case is proved, there is no reason why the matter should not be looked into and, where possible, some variations made in the previous settlement. It is not normally desirable to upset settlements as they produce a feeling of uncertainty and it might affect

13 On 14 and 15 October 1952.

14. The Finance Ministers agreed, in principle, to the levy of sales tax, matching their budgetary estimates with the financial outlays for the five year plan and mutual consultations between the Centre and the States before imposition of any new taxes

15 On 15 October, in response to the request of the Chief Ministers of Saurashtra and Hyderabad for review of the financial arrangements between the Union and the States in view of their own revenues having gone down after the integration, the President suggested to the Prime Minister to ask the Finance Commission to review the question and pending such a review, to adhere to the existing arrangements



At the Tungabhadra Dam, 29 September 1952





At Charduar tribal village, Assam, 21 October 1952



Addressing the first meeting of the National Development Council

even our planning. But our whole approach is a co-operative one between the Centre and the State Governments and it is always our desire to remove any feeling of unfair treatment. All of us, I hope, are deeply interested, not only in the advancement of the particular part of India that we represent, but of the country as a whole. We have thus to view every problem in this larger context.

20. I have written to you previously on several occasions about the habit of some unworthy newspapers to publish false statements and make scurrilous propaganda. This is often designed to create communal trouble and, indeed, it sometimes succeeds. We have come to the conclusion that we must take legal action wherever there is a *prima facie* case for it. Even if we fail sometimes in that action because of the niceties of the law, we propose to take it. If the law is not adequate, it will have to be changed. This has nothing to do with political opposition, but rather with indecency, vulgarity and something approaching blackmail, in which some periodicals indulge. Recently there have been some extraordinary cases of this kind. A Bombay weekly¹⁶ published a forged letter purporting to have been written by the American Ambassador¹⁷ here. It was published in spite of a warning given previously about this letter. We are taking action in this matter.

21. Another remarkable example of this kind has recently occurred. A periodical¹⁸ published what purported to be a speech by our Commander-in-Chief, General Cariappa.¹⁹ This was an astounding report. On the face of it, it was unbelievable. General Cariappa, when asked, of course, contradicted it. The periodical in question offered to apologize and correct the previous false statement. But in such cases an apology or a correction is not adequate and legal action is being taken.

¹⁶ *Current*.

¹⁷ Chester Bowles. For b fn see Vol 2, p 497.

¹⁸ *Organiser*, published in Delhi.

¹⁹ For b fn see Vol 1, p 251.

22 The General Assembly of the United Nations has begun its labours.²⁰ The first day appears to have been a very tame affair and indeed there were not enough speakers and the meeting had to be adjourned. This is a bad beginning for an important session. The Security Council has also met to hear Dr Graham's report on Kashmir.²¹ Very soon, our representative and the representative of Pakistan will make their statements. I do not know what the future course might be and whether any resolution is likely to be put forward by any of the Powers. We have asked Vijayalakshmi Pandit to represent us in this matter in the Security Council. Meanwhile, in Pakistan, the cry for war continues.²² Always when the Security Council or the U.N. representatives are considering this matter, the press and the leaders of Pakistan become belligerent and inform the world that unless their wishes are attended to, there is going to be big trouble. The cry of wolf has grown rather stale, and yet in view of the deterioration in political and economic conditions in Pakistan, there is always danger of some adventurism and we have to be prepared for it.

23. In Iran, negotiations have broken down and have been followed by Dr Mossadeq²³ announcing a break of diplomatic relations with the U.K.²⁴ This is unfortunate and the consequences are likely to be far-reaching,

20 The seventh session opened on 14 October 1952 at New York

21 It met on 11 October 1952 but was adjourned as Pakistan's representative asked for time to prepare a statement on Graham's report

22 *Dawn* wrote editorially on 11 October that "Kashmir is an inalienable part of the very conception of Pakistan and its territory. If the U.N. is proved wanting in its clear duty it will have passed its initiative to bloodshed and chaos." On 12 October, Mahmood Hussain, Pakistan's Minister for Kashmir Affairs, declared at Dacca that "in case of the failure of the United Nations to solve the Kashmir problem we will be free to chalk out further course of action."

23 For b fn see Vol 2, p 453

24 Iran broke off diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom on 16 October after the refusal by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to pay 49 million pounds before negotiations could start for settlement as proposed by Truman and Churchill in their joint note of 30 August

24 A short time ago we sent a note²⁵ to the French Government drawing their attention to the state of lawlessness prevailing in some of the French possessions in India and more particularly to the repeated attempts by gangsters to terrorize those who are in favour of merger with India. Such notes had been sent previously also. When I was in Madras, a further and rather flagrant example of gangsterism occurred there and two of our policemen were beaten by some rowdies. There can be no doubt that this kind of thing has had the connivance, if not the active support, of the French authorities. I stated at a public meeting in Madras²⁶ that we took a very strong view of these developments. It was clear that either the French authorities were conniving at these gangster methods or were incapable of controlling them. To talk of plebiscite in this connection had no meaning and, therefore, so far as we were concerned, we were not interested in a plebiscite. The simple point now for us was that these foreign possessions in India, whether French or Portuguese, should be handed over to India. It is on that basis that we were prepared to discuss matters and details. We are sending a formal note to this effect to the French Government in Paris.

25. We have always made it clear that we do not wish to interfere with the language, laws or customs of these French or Portuguese establishments and that they would enjoy a measure of autonomy. It is only with the consent of the people there that any changes would be introduced.

26 In Egypt new developments have taken place and it is a little difficult to judge of the real position there. One of the Regents was recently dismissed by General Neguib.²⁷ It is not quite clear whether General Neguib is the strong man of

²⁵ The Indian Government's note of 11 October condemned firing and the use of methods of coercion against Indian nationals in the French settlements and said that no fair referendum could be held under such conditions.

²⁶ On 9 October 1952.

²⁷ On 14 October, the Regency Council set up after King Farouk's abdication was suspended and Prince Abdul Monem was appointed the sole Regent.

Egypt or whether he is rather a popular figurehead with power being exercised by a group of officers. It is clear, however, that it is the army or a group of officers who are dominating the situation. The assurances given previously by the army that they did not wish to interfere with the civil government have proved to be untrue. Probably, General Nguib is more of a figurehead now and others control the Government. The Regent²⁸ who was dismissed was a partisan of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization. This indicates that the army group are not in favour of the Muslim Brotherhood.

27. The army group does not appear to have much political background and the regime exhibits a certain political weakness. In economic matters they have taken steps which have failed to produce results. An attempt was made to control prices through military decrees. This met with no success. The position in Egypt, therefore, is by no means stable.

28. Scarcity conditions prevail not only in Madras and Mysore and parts of Hyderabad, but also in Saurashtra, Karnataka and some areas of Madhya Bharat. There have been welcome rains in many places including the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh and these have brought much relief. In Assam, however, repeated floods continue bringing disaster and suffering in their train. My programme for Assam and Manipur is likely to be affected greatly by these rains there.

29. I have sometimes received complaints from Christian missions and missionaries, both foreign and Indian, about the differential treatment accorded to them in some States.²⁹ It is said that there is some kind of harassment also occasionally. Some instances of this kind have come to my notice. I hope that your Government will take particular

28. Rachad Mehanna.

29. On 9 October 1952, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur drew Nehru's attention to complaints of such treatment of Christian missionaries in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh.

care that there is no such discrimination, much less harassment. I know that there is a hangover still of the old prejudice against Christian missions and missionaries. In the old days, many of them, except in the far South, where they were indigenous, represented the foreign power and sometimes even acted more or less as its agents. I know also that some of them in the north-east encouraged separatist and disruptive movements. That phase is over. If any person, foreign or Indian, behaves in that way still, certainly we should take suitable action. But we must remember that Christianity is a religion of large numbers of people in India and that it came to the South of India nearly 2000 years ago. It is as much part of the Indian scene as any other religion. Our policy of religious neutrality and protection of minorities must not be affected or sullied by discriminatory treatment or harassment. While Christian missionaries have sometimes behaved objectionably from the political point of view, they have undoubtedly done great service to India in the social fields and they continue to give that service. In the tribal areas, many of them have often devoted their lives to the tribes there. I wish that there were Indians who were willing to serve the tribal folk in this way. I know that there are some Indians now who are doing this but I would like more of them to do so. It must be remembered that the Christian community, by and large, is poor and is sometimes economically on the level of the backward or depressed classes.

30. We permit, by our Constitution, not only freedom of conscience and belief but even proselytism. Personally I do not like proselytism and it is rather opposed to the old Indian outlook which is, in this matter, one of live and let live. But I do not wish to come in other people's ways provided they are not objectionable in any other sense. In particular, I would welcome any form of real social service by any one, missionary or not. A question arises, however, how far we should encourage foreigners to come here for purely evangelical work. Often these foreign missionaries raise funds in foreign countries on the plea of converting the

savage heathen. I do not want anyone to come here who looks upon me as a savage heathen, not that I mind being called a heathen or a pagan by anybody. But I do not want any foreigners to come who look down upon us or who speak about us in their own countries in terms of contempt. But if any foreigner wants to come here for social service, I would welcome him.

31. An interesting development has recently taken place. The Communist Party of India has proclaimed its willingness to restore the arms it possessed in Telengana.³⁰ I do not suppose that they will restore all the arms they have. Nevertheless, this indicates the pressure of events on the Indian Communist Party. We need not imagine that they have changed their basic creed or that they have given up the way of violence. But it is clear that they feel that the methods of violence are not profitable in India at present. As a matter of fact, it did not matter much whether they gave up their arms or not, because those arms were anyhow more or less useless. Another party, calling itself the Revolutionary Communist Party, which has indulged in brutal crimes in Assam, has also announced that it is giving up all kinds of violence and terrorism. Again, this represents the failure of that policy of violence and terrorism and not any change of heart. Anyhow, that declaration is welcome because it indicated their weakness and the public reaction against such methods. In Telengana, the public is definitely reacting against communist methods and a number of Communists there have got into trouble with the villagers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

³⁰ B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad, announced on 8 October 1952 that the Communists in Telengana had agreed to surrender arms unconditionally.

New Delhi
29 October, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you perhaps know, I have been visiting the North-Eastern Frontier Agency and other border areas. I was away for about a week. On return to Delhi, I found that some kind of controversy was going on about control or decontrol of food.¹ The Food Minister² had been having conferences in Bombay with State Ministers in this connection³ and has discussed possible lines of action.

Our Food Minister will be coming back to Delhi soon and we shall confer together. As however, there appears to be a good deal of confusion about this issue, I should like to make certain points clear so as to avoid any misunderstanding. Specific issues will, of course, be considered by us later.

For various reasons of which you are fully aware, we adopted a policy of control of certain important foodgrains. We had to import a very large quantity of them from outside. Some months back the position was easier and a measure of decontrol was introduced in Madras State.⁴ Later, some restrictions on internal movement within States were also removed.⁵ There has thus been a certain trend towards

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 On 21 October 1952, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Minister for Food and Agriculture, said that the Government would announce shortly a new food policy based on complete decontrol of foodgrains. The statement was criticized by the members of the Advisory Board to the Planning Commission on 21 October

2 Rafi Ahmed Kidwai

3 From 23 to 29 October 1952

4 See ante, p 22

5 See ante, p 32

partial decontrol. But at all stages we have made it clear that we do not propose to put an end to controls as such because we could not possibly take that risk. If it is possible, we may take some other specific measures to remove restrictions here and there.

The basic policy obviously must be judged and decided from the point of view of not only present-day conditions but future possibilities and emergencies. It is fortunate that, on the whole, we expect to have a fairly good harvest this year. Because of very large imports early this year, we also accumulated some foodgrains. These factors relieve the tension and make the situation somewhat better, which led us to take the measures referred to above. But some temporary improvement in the food situation or even a good harvest gives us no assurance of future developments and we cannot take any risks about that future. In laying down any policy, we have thus to have a long-term view and provide for all possible contingencies.

Apart from this, we are now engaged in finalizing our Five Year Plan. Any Plan involves an attempt to control the economy of the country. The basic factor of this economy is food. This means that we must keep food prices down and try to lower them from their present level. On no account must they be allowed to go up, as that would upset everything we are aiming at. Secondly, we must always have large stocks in hand to meet any emergency or tendency to a rise in prices. If we are to keep large stocks, we have to procure foodgrains in sufficient quantities. Some kind of procurement has thus to continue. We have also to reduce progressively imports of foodgrains, as they are a heavy drain on our resources. What measure of controlled rationing we should continue in selected places, is a matter which has to be considered on the merits, keeping in view always the factors mentioned above.

Therefore, in any event, certain basic controls will have to continue and it would be wrong to think that we are putting an end to controls. That is the essence of a planned economy.

It is within these limits that we consider any aspect of the food problem and the question of partial decontrol.

I am venturing to write to you because, reading the newspapers, I have got the impression that people think that we are likely to put an end very largely to these controls. There appears to be much confused thinking on the subject and the basic facts are perhaps forgotten. One of the basic facts is that we cannot rely upon one good season and expect other like ones to follow.

It is well to keep in mind what has happened in Pakistan. After a number of bumper years, when there was a large surplus of food, a bad year followed and suddenly the whole food economy of Pakistan began to crumble. Pakistan had had a lot of trouble over food this year, even though the previous years were so good. We should take a lesson from this and not think in short-term period. Fortunately, there have been definite improvements in our food situation. Although there are also some undesirable trends in regard to prices, we should take advantage of the present improvement to provide for the future.

We shall be considering this matter soon in our Cabinet, as well as in the Planning Commission. I shall be grateful to have your views on this subject, keeping in mind the principles stated above. I should also like to know what the price trends have been in your State during the last few months—say six months. What is your stock position and how does it compare with the stock position six months ago as well as a year ago? Any other relevant information would be helpful to us and I shall be grateful if you will kindly have it sent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
30 October, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I have recently visited the North-Eastern Frontier Areas I have written a note about this visit, a copy of which I enclose¹ You will observe from what I have written how deeply I have been impressed by this visit and how important I consider this area from many points of view I should like to go there again before long, more especially as I have been unable to visit the Lushai Hills District.

2 On my way to the frontier areas, I spent a day in Calcutta² because a new situation had arisen there on account of the influx of refugees from East Pakistan There was a great deal of excitement and all kinds of demands were being made for what was called "strong" action against Pakistan The problem of looking after the newly arrived refugees was also a serious one That crisis is passed now and the new passport system is working more or less satisfactorily The arrivals and departures now are limited Provisional arrangements have been made for the new refugees These arrangements included sending these refugees to other States Unfortunately, some people have tried to come in the way of these refugees being sent to Bihar or Orissa and special trains containing them have actually been stopped by people lying in front of the engine This is indeed an extraordinary behaviour and is an attempt to

1 The note dated 29 October 1952 on his tour from 19 to 25 October is printed at the end of this item

2 On 18 October 1952

exploit the situation for political purposes and just to create trouble.

3 Immediately after the introduction of the passport system on the 15th October, some batches of refugees were held up for a while on the border or within Eastern Pakistan. Within a few days, these people either came through to India or returned to their homes. Our Minorities Minister³ went to Dacca⁴ and, together with the Minorities Minister of Pakistan,⁵ has been travelling in the affected areas of East Bengal.⁶ This visit and touring has clarified the atmosphere very much and helped to ease the situation. While the situation is undoubtedly much better and more normal, some political parties continue to agitate about it⁷ and try to come in the way of normality as well as of the rehabilitation of refugees. There is of course no normality, as such, in Eastern Pakistan in regard to the minorities. They have to face particular difficulties and pressures. But apart from this continuing difficulty, a large measure of normality has returned. While the old problem remains, the new problem has been largely tackled.

4 Why did this influx take place? As I indicated in my last letter, the immediate cause of it was undoubtedly the fear of the introduction of the passport system. People thought that they would not be allowed to come later and were anxious to take advantage of the free period before passports

3 C C Biswas For b fn see Vol 2, p. 96

4 On 24 October 1952

5. Azizuddin Ahmed

6 The Ministers for the minorities visited the affected areas in East Bengal from 25 to 28 October and in West Bengal on 29 and 30 October 1952

7 At a public meeting in Delhi on 23 October, J.B. Kripalani called for "effective governmental action" against Pakistan, Asoka Mehta demanded economic boycott and V G. Deshpande suggested the use of force against Pakistan to complete the exchange of population between the two countries. Strong action, including economic blockade, was demanded at a rally of eleven opposition parties at Calcutta on 27 October to compel Pakistan to look after her minorities properly

came in. As soon as the new system was introduced, there was no urgency and people found that there was no real difficulty in coming through if they chose to do so. So now the migrants or other passengers are more limited and travel to and fro as previously before the recent influx. The numbers are indeed somewhat less than before owing to the checks which prevent the many smugglers and others from indulging in their activities.

5 I have often given you some indication of the figures of migrations between Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal. It is well to remember these figures in order to have a current picture. That picture indicates that, by and large, for the last two years, there has been an excess of Hindus going back to Eastern Pakistan from West Bengal. The excess has been considerable. Leaving out the month of September and part of October this year, it can be said that a very large number of Hindus have returned to Eastern Pakistan from West Bengal. This may be capable of explanation in various ways, but the fact is important. This does not mean that Hindus in Eastern Pakistan are at all happy or can lead a normal life. In the circumstances, they cannot lead that normal life and there are various pressures upon them. Nevertheless, in the balance, they did decide to go back.

6 We are accused of a policy of appeasement of Pakistan and of not taking the strong action demanded. What this strong action is supposed to be is seldom indicated. Lately, stress has been laid on economic sanctions. As a matter of fact, there is very little trade between India and Pakistan and our economic sanctions will not make much difference. If they cause some additional inconvenience to Pakistan, the result on us will be equally disconcerting. But, apart from this, what do we aim at? If we aim at a final conflict, then each step should be conditioned by that. If not, then we should not talk loosely and act in a way to obstruct our objective. I am quite clear that to think or act in terms of a major conflict is bad from every point of view and harmful to all concerned. It surprises me how people talk lightly of

such serious and dangerous matters. We who happen to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of guiding India's policy cannot allow ourselves to be swept away by this occasional agitation of some people who have no vision and allow themselves to be carried away by the passion of the moment.

7 If we are not aiming at this conflict, then the only other aim is to try to lessen the tensions that exist, while safeguarding our interests all the time. We have endeavoured to follow that policy. To say that we have not succeeded in solving these problems is to ignore the state of the world and of India and Pakistan. There are many unsolved problems in the world and they carry on, even though there is widespread desire for their solution. I cannot prophesy what will happen in the future in India or elsewhere. All we can endeavour to do is to act rightly in the present keeping the future objective in view.

8 I am quite certain that vast numbers of people in India and, I would say, in Pakistan also, desire peace between our countries and a satisfactory settlement of our problems. But in each country there are vociferous groups, full of hatred for the other country and people and lacking vision completely. Unfortunately it is these people who catch the public eye and are reported in the public press. Pakistan is much worse in this respect, but it would be wrong and untrue if we thought that none were to blame in India. Some of our newspapers continually create this atmosphere of bitterness and hostility, many of them, I am glad to say, observe a proper balance. In Pakistan, most of the newspapers are totally unbalanced and some vitriolic.⁸ Each such step on one side affects the other and thus the temperature rises. It would be far better if we thought more of the large mass of friendly people on either side who want peace and a settlement, and a little less of the aggressive and vociferous groups. It is rather extraordinary how we are blamed for whatever happens. When refugees were coming from East

⁸ For example, *Dawn* of 23 October carried a report that Muslims in India would soon be exterminated by fanatic Hindu elements.

Pakistan, it was said that Pakistan was pushing them out and we were permitting this to be done. Later, when the passport system was introduced and there was some check on migrants and others, we were blamed for permitting Pakistan to obstruct these migrants from coming over. Whether they came or not, we were supposed to be blameworthy. I do not understand this type of argument or the mind that lies behind it.

9. I have written to you separately about the food position and the recent talk about decontrol.⁹ Where we can relax controls without risk, we should certainly do so. But in this matter there can be no taking of risk. Further we cannot imperil our national plans which will soon emerge from the labours of the Planning Commission. Planning must necessarily involve various controls of the economic structure. Without them there can be no planning. In what measure those controls should be kept in regard to a particular commodity is a matter to be judged in each individual case. But the basic policy of economic control has to be kept in view all the time.

10. There has been debate also about the protection to be given to the handloom industry. It is clear that this industry is of high importance in India. That would be so merely because a very large number of people are engaged in it. But there are other reasons also and any person with a Congress background must necessarily favour the fullest help being given to this industry. I think there is general agreement about this, though there are differences of opinion as to the measure and the method of protection to be given. We have appointed a special All India Handloom Board to consider the handloom position. We shall be in a better position to come to final decisions when this Board reports to us after reviewing the situation as a whole. Meanwhile, a number of substantial steps have been taken to help the handloom weavers.

9 See *ante*, item 12

11 The General Assembly of the United Nations is meeting at present and is considering matters of high importance. We are particularly interested not only in Kashmir but in the South African racial issue and, of course, in Korea. Some of these questions are being discussed there. But, as a matter of fact, everything in America is at present subordinated to the Presidential election. Nothing really important is going to be done by the U.N. till that election is over early next month.

12. While South Africa is on the agenda of the U.N., a new and rather dangerous situation has arisen in East Africa. On the one hand, it is reported that a secret society¹⁰ of Africans has been carrying out a terrorist campaign and there have been a number of murders; on the other hand, the measures taken by the British colonial authorities are of the severest kind.¹¹ It is clear that terrorism and assassination have to be met and put down. But it is equally clear to me that the colonial policy being adopted there will lead to grave consequences. It is not possible to crush the whole people, more especially when they have become politically wide awake. A large number of African leaders have been arrested and the African organizations have been practically broken up.¹² The result of this policy can only be to embitter the Africans and to make a friendly settlement much more difficult.

¹⁰ The Mau Mau secret society, pledged to drive out the 'white' settlers from Kenya, gained influence on the Kikuyu tribe and launched a campaign against European settlers and African collaborators.

¹¹ On 1 October, the Kenya Legislative Council, despite opposition from the African members, empowered the State to control the press and impose restrictions on the movement of Mau Mau supporters, increase penalties for acts of sedition, and allow the police to arrest any suspected person without warrant. On 20 October, the Government declared a state of emergency in Kenya.

¹² The Government arrested Jomo Kenyatta and Richard Achieng—the President and the Secretary respectively of the Kenya African Union, Fred Kubai, a prominent trade union leader, and several other leaders of the Mau Mau movement.

13 Our definite policy in Africa, as you know, has been to encourage to the greatest extent Indo-African co-operation. We have made some considerable progress in this. Now there is danger of our past work suffering or being even wiped away. Indians, of course, have nothing to do with the terroristic activities, nor are they responsible for the repression by the British colonial authorities. But a difficult question arises for them as to how they should act in these circumstances. Africans look up to them in their dire hour of peril. It seems to me quite clear that, while dissociating ourselves completely from acts of violence, Indians should not stand aloof from the Africans when they are in such great trouble.

14 In Iran, diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom have been severed.¹³ Whoever might be to blame for this unfortunate result, it must be said that past British policy in Iran must shoulder, to a large extent, the responsibility for subsequent happenings.

15. In Egypt, report comes that a settlement has been arrived at between the Government of Egypt and the representatives of Sudanese nationalism.¹⁴ If this report is correct and there has been a full settlement, then the U.K. Government will be put in some difficulty. They will have

¹³ See *ante*, p. 130

¹⁴ On 30 October, Genral Neguib and Aly Maher, representing the Egyptian Government, and Abdullah el-Fadel el Mahdi, the representative of the Sudanese Egyptian Front, agreed on the establishment of self-government in Sudan by the end of 1952, with the provision that the Sudanese people would be allowed the exercise of the right of self-determination within three years. The Egyptian Government also suggested (1) appointment of a commission to guide the Governor-General in the exercise of his functions till power was handed over to the Sudanese people, (2) indigenization of the administration including the police, and (3) holding of elections under the supervision of an international commission.

to adapt themselves to this settlement.¹⁵ This settlement is undoubtedly a gain for Egypt and the prestige of the present administration there will go up. But from other accounts it appears that there is great instability in Egypt and normality is very far off

16 The Government of India has addressed a formal *aide memoire*¹⁶ to the French Government on the subject of the French Settlements in India. We have made it clear that in view of what has happened there during the last two or three years, there is no question now of our waiting for a plebiscite. It must be admitted that these foreign footholds have to be merged in India. We can discuss the details, but not this basic principle. We have given assurance to the people of Pondicherry, etc., and Goa, that we have no desire to interfere with their present laws, language or culture. Indeed they will have some autonomy and any changes that are made will be with their consent. Although we have sent this *aide memoire* to the French Government, it is clear that in the existing international situation, no immediate consequences are likely to flow.

17 Shri C P N. Singh, who had such a distinguished record as our Ambassador in Nepal, has now been appointed as our High Commissioner in Ceylon. His experience will, I hope, help us in our attempt to solve the problems of the people of Indian descent in Ceylon. There have been some indications that the atmosphere for a solution is better. On the other hand, it was announced recently that the Ceylon Government would introduce fresh legislation to get over

¹⁵ The draft statute conferring the status of a self-governing Dominion on the Sudan, submitted by the Sudan to Britain and Egypt on 8 May 1952, was approved by the British Government on 22 October. On 24 October, the Sudanese communique clarified that the Governor-General would remain responsible for the new Dominion on behalf of both Britain and Egypt. The Anglo-Egyptian talks were held from 24 November 1952 to resolve the differences between the two sides on the interpretation of the statute.

¹⁶ On 11 and 26 October 1952

the difficulty caused by the recent judgments of their Supreme Court and the Privy Council.¹⁷ If they do this, it will be most unfortunate for it will put an end to all the favourable trends I have addressed a personal appeal to the Prime Minister of Ceylon¹⁸ on this subject

18 I am going out of Delhi again today on a short tour I shall visit Sagar¹⁹ in Madhya Pradesh, Nagpur, Wardha and Sevagram.²⁰ The real objective is Sevagram, the others will be taken on the way to it. To go to Sevagram is always a pilgrimage

19. Parliament will begin early next month on the 5th November. We have plenty of work to do during the six weeks or so of the session

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17 By successive judgements on 6 and 9 October, the Supreme Court and the Privy Council had given 40,000 Indian settlers in Sri Lanka a right to citizenship under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Act, 1949 Through an amending bill on 5 November 1952, the Sri Lankan Government sought to circumvent these judgements by enabling conferment of citizenship only on those members of the family of the applicants who had been residents of Sri Lanka since 1939

18 Dudley Senanayake (1911-1973) Son of D S Senanayake, first Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Minister of Agriculture and Lands, 1947, Prime Minister, 1952-53, March-July 1960, and 1965-70

19 On 30 October 1952

20 From 30 October to 2 November 1952 He inaugurated the Sevagram Rural University on 1 November 1952

Enclosure

My recent tour of the North-Eastern Frontier Areas proved not only exceedingly interesting but, if I may say so, exciting to me. It was in the nature of a discovery of new and fascinating aspects of India. I learnt much by it which I could never have done by reading reports. I think also that from various points of view, my visit did good in many ways. I spent just about a week there, constantly moving about by air or car. I visited parts of the hill areas of Assam, the North-East Frontier Agency, Manipur and Tripura. I had intended going to the Lushai Hills District also, but the only approach was by road, a long journey and a breach had occurred on the road, which prevented my undertaking this journey. I was very sorry to miss this area, which from some points of view especially deserved a visit.

2. Flying in these hill areas is fascinating with their numerous and tortuous valleys. It is also not free from risk if any clouds are present, which is often the case. To fly right above the clouds has no value, except perhaps to reach a particular destination. Even that destination is missed as I missed it twice in spite of repeated efforts. I wanted to visit Tawang, near the Tibetan border. It was not possible to land there as there was no air strip. To go by mountain path was many weeks' journey. We had decided, however, to fly low over it and had announced this fact. We carried some flowers to throw over the monastery there. But we did not succeed in finding the place although we flew round about it for some time. Later we heard that hundreds of monks and nuns as well as the neighbouring village population and our Assam Rifles had gathered there just to see us in the air. They had come from long distances on foot and it was a great pity that we lost our way. On another occasion, we intended flying to Walong, also another of our posts near the Tibetan frontier. Here too, we could not land. As a matter of fact, we could not reach the place because of low clouds.

3. These places are cut off from the rest of the world and can only be reached normally by long marches along the

mountains. Supplies are sent to them by air and are dropped from the aircraft. Two days after our attempt to reach them, an Indian Air Force aircraft, carrying supplies, came to grief in these very mountains. This was evidence of the risky nature of flying there. And yet, these flights have been going on for a year or two regularly and they had become almost a routine for the men of our Air Force as well as for a private air company which is especially engaged for the purpose. I was full of admiration for the pilots.

4. I do not know what ideas most people in India have about tribal folk. My own general impression has been largely derived from such people as the Bhils, the Santhals, the Gonds, etc. For my part, I like these somewhat backward or even primitive people, but I recognize that they are primitive in their normal ways of life. Given the opportunity, however, some of them can make good in other ways also. During my visit to the North-East Frontier, I had to change my conception of these tribes. I found a great variety of them, differing from each other very greatly. Some of them were undoubtedly rather primitive, but many of them were remarkably developed and advanced. Indeed, it is quite absurd to call them backward. An average crowd of some of these tribes would probably be more advanced in many ways than an average crowd elsewhere in India.

5. I do not propose to give lists of these tribes or to deal with them separately, but I should like to mention that the Khasis struck me as very advanced as well as attractive people. So also the Lushais. Their women are intelligent, attractive and hard-working. Generally speaking, many of them have been educated in missionary schools and can speak English. Indeed, the proportion of people speaking English was higher than I would find in most other parts of India. An instance that was mentioned to me threw some light on these people and more especially on their womenfolk. A bright-faced girl was carrying a heavy load of wood. She was asked some questions and, to the surprise of the questioner, she spoke in excellent English. She was a college girl. But because her family had suffered in recent

years, chiefly owing to the partition, she was carrying these loads just to earn some money for her parents. I could hardly conceive of any girl of a like station elsewhere in India doing this kind of work

6 What appealed to me about all these tribal people was not only their physique and health and straight-limbed bodies but their frank demeanour. They looked one in the face and were not afraid or inhibited, men and women alike. Altogether, they struck me as a fine lot of which any country can be proud. Almost everywhere there was a passion for education. The two principal demands were for roads and schools. I can well imagine that given these communications and schools, they would advance rapidly and be a credit to the country in many ways. Even now many of them occupy responsible positions and do well. Even the Nagas, who are supposed to be very primitive, profit by education. They make very good soldiers. Our Army has a battalion of them, and so also the Assam Rifles, and their officers spoke in the highest terms of them

7. The names of the tribes are somewhat misleading. The Nagas consist of many entirely separate tribes with different languages or dialects and not too much contacts with each other. The name, "Naga", has been imposed upon them. The Lushai is a generic name to a large number of tribes living in what are now called the Lushai Hills. As a matter of fact, only one small tribe there is really Lushai and the others object to this appellation. They want their name changed to "Mizoram". The Garos would like to be called the "Achiks" which, according to them, is their real name

8. We have looked upon the question of the tribes as a social problem, which of course it is. But in these North-Eastern Frontier Areas, it is very much a political problem also because of the frontier and because these people are culturally related to the people on the other side of the frontier, e.g., the Tibetans or Burmese. The whole area as all real frontier areas are, is full of these mixed racial types with a Mongolian element present in greater or less degree. The languages they speak are numerous. They have no written

script and it was the missionaries who taught them the Latin script and wrote grammars and dictionaries for them

9 Another fact to be remembered is that all these tribes and other people in these areas were almost completely cut off from the rest of India during British rule. Few of them came out of their areas and few from outside went there. The British did not like this journeying to and fro. Thus they never experienced a sensation of being in a country called India and they were hardly influenced by the struggle for freedom or other movements in India. Their chief experience of outsiders was that of British officers and Christian missionaries who generally tried to make them anti-Indian. As Indian independence gradually approached and it became obvious that British rule was coming to an end in India, some of these British officers and Christian missionaries induced them to think in terms of independence. This had some effect on some sections of the Nagas.

10 Generally speaking, these tribal people have marked customs and ways of living, which are different from those of the Assamese and thus they have not mixed and do not even now mix easily on the social plane. There is a feeling of separateness in these tribes and some apprehension that they might be merged in the sea of Indian humanity, that they might have to give up their customs and ways of living, that they might even have their land taken away from them.

11. There is a tendency in Assam for what is called integration of these tribes and for the establishment of a homogeneous State. This really means merging in a cultural and like sense the tribal people into the Assamese. I think that this is not a desirable movement and instead of achieving its objective, will lead to conflicts and difficulties. There is bound to be a process of assimilation, but this will have to be developed by itself through education and contacts without any special effort. Indeed, the effort should be on retaining their individual culture, much of which is certainly worth retaining. They have an innate sense of art and are a strong and virile people. It would be a great pity if

in this respect they were brought down to a lower level, even though they might advance in some other ways.

12. The first problem we have to face there is to inspire them with confidence and to make them feel at one with India, and to realize that they are part of India and have an honoured place in it. This can only be done by allowing them to retain their own cultural traits and habits and leaving them to develop along their own lines without any compulsion from outside.

13. In some places the question of language was raised. Thus a Khasi or a Lushai learns his own language, which is the medium in the primary schools. He has to learn Assamese also and Hindi and English. The Khasi or the Lushai language is written in the Latin script. The Assamese is written in a slight variation of the Bengali script. Thus not only have several languages to be learnt but their scripts. This is a great burden. It is true that Assamese has become, to some extent, a lingua franca in those areas. A Khasi told me of this difficulty and asked me if Assamese could not be written in a Devnagari script, as this would make it easier for them to learn both Assamese and Hindi. I think there is much in what he said.

14. The people near the Tibetan frontier asked me repeatedly for schools, roads and dispensaries. On the other hand, in some other areas bordering on Tibet, I was told that comparison was being made with conditions on the Chinese side and that this was not always to our advantage. Many of our people go across the border to work on the other side and get good wages. They say that the Chinese are building roads and schools, etc. In fact, it appeared that the Chinese treated our people somewhat better than they treated the Tibetans.

15. Thus the problem of these areas is to make the people feel that they have perfect freedom to live their own lives and to develop according to their wishes and genius. India to them should signify not only a protecting force but a liberating one. Any conception that India is ruling them and that they are the ruled, or that the customs and habits with

which they are unfamiliar are going to be imposed upon them, will alienate them and make our frontier problems more difficult. I was glad to see that the Governor of Assam, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram,¹ was very sympathetic and friendly to the tribal people and fully appreciated the policy that we had laid down. His chief difficulty, and indeed this is a common complaint, was lack of funds. Schools are relatively cheap and they are in high demand. Communications are expensive, and yet, without communications, nothing can be done. During the British period these areas were left completely undeveloped and it is exceedingly difficult now to move about in the interior. Probably the worst developed area of all lies in the Lushai Hills, but really this applies to most other parts also. Post offices are very rare, telegraph offices are rarer and of course telephones practically non-existent. I was told that it took a month or more for a letter to reach some parts of the Lushai Hills.

16 As I wandered about these areas, New Delhi, with all its paraphernalia of Government, seemed to be very far away and I realized that the reverse was also true. These areas, so full of promise and with such a fine and often sensitive and intelligent population, were hardly remembered by New Delhi. In a vague way no doubt they existed as some outlying tract which had to be kept going. But there was no intimate appreciation of their existence, their difficulties and their problems. Certainly no feeling that these people would add greatly to the strength of India as well as to their own prosperity, if properly helped. I wished that more people from New Delhi visited these areas and came in contact with these very attractive, intelligent and hard-working people.

17 Many of these tribes, notably the Khasis, Lushais and the Garos, have suffered greatly from the partition of India. All their communications system led to Eastern Pakistan and their markets lay there also. These markets have now

1 For b fn see Vol 1, p 84

been cut off almost completely and they cannot get necessary articles, such as rice, etc. Large numbers of prosperous people have been reduced to poverty because of this, and yet they produce oranges in very great abundance. Also bananas, pineapples, potatoes, Indian corn, sweet potatoes and, to a slight extent, tapioca. They are good cultivators. I noticed how the Khasis took advantage of every strip of available land in the mountains. Sometimes there was terrace cultivation which was good. In other areas the usual form of cultivation is what is called 'Jhooming' or a shifting method of dry cultivation of paddy. The forest is cut down and left for this kind of cultivation and then that patch of land is left and people move on to the next. This is obviously very harmful. Possibly this growth of 'Jhooming' cultivation is also partly responsible for the floods.

18 These people realized that changing conditions required them to change what they cultivated. I was asked to send them experts to advise them as to what to do. All of them wanted markets for oranges, timber, bamboos, etc. Some cotton also is grown, but this is short staple. It was not used locally and used to be exported to foreign countries to be mixed with wool.

19 A proposal was made for arrangements for cold storage of oranges. If this was done, it would prove very helpful indeed to the people there, more especially the Khasis. I was told that a plant of this kind was estimated to cost about 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees. This would save them about ten times that figure annually. Some such proposal was examined some time ago. I think that we should consider this afresh as soon as possible.

20 Air strips were asked for and people offered to make them for us. I think that we shall have to make a number of air strips because roads over the mountains will take a much longer time. The air strips need not be very long ones. It would be enough if small planes would land there. I am told that our Air Force people as well as Civil Aviation do not approve of small planes flying there. I do not myself see why this should be so, provided the small plane is two-engined.

Probably a helicopter would prove of great use. Indeed a helicopter appears quite essential. If there is an accident, there is no way to reach the place within a reasonable time except by a helicopter.

21 The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution provides for the formation of autonomous districts and autonomous regions in the hill areas of Assam. This, if I may say so, was a very wise provision. It is quite essential that these tribal people should be given the largest possible measure of local autonomy. According to the Constitution, there should be six autonomous district councils. Five of these have been formed, but the sixth, in the Naga Hills district, has not been formed because of the non-cooperation of the Nagas there. They demand an independent State, which is rather absurd. But they have another grievance. According to them, the understanding² arrived at on their behalf with Sir Akbar Hydari,³ then Governor of Assam, was not given effect to in the Sixth Schedule. In so far as this is so, we should be prepared to honour that understanding and even to vary the Sixth Schedule to some extent. That question, however, does not arise at present, though I should like to consider the grant of further powers to the district councils.

22 The Constitution lays down that each district council for an autonomous district shall consist of not more than 24 members of whom not less than three-fourths shall be elected on the basis of adult suffrage. The stress thus is on election and on the limitation of the number of nominated members. In effect, however, this has been interpreted as

2 The nine-point agreement reached in June 1947, which could be renewed after ten years, conceded the Nagas, "right to develop themselves according to their truly expressed wishes," allowed all civil and criminal cases to be settled through the customary laws of the Nagas in Naga courts, the executive matters except the appointment of district officers to be decided by the Naga National Council, and all legislative enactments affecting the terms of agreement or religious practices of the Nagas not to become enforceable without the consent of the Naga National Council.

3 Muhammad Saleh Akbar Hydari (1894-1948) I.C.S., Secretary, Department of Industries and Supplies, 1943-45, member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1945-46, Governor of Assam, 1947-48.

limiting the elected members to three-fourths only. This system of nomination has given rise to trouble in one district (I think that is the Khasi area) where demonstrations took place against nominations and firing had to be resorted to. In the other autonomous districts, no particular objection has been raised to the system of nominations. I do not think that the system of nominations is good or, at any rate, that it should extend to one quarter of the total members. As we have to produce a sensation of real autonomy, we should reduce this nomination to the lowest figure, if we keep it at all. It may be necessary to reserve a right to appoint one or two competent persons who might not be elected or to give representation to some minority group. I should imagine that it is enough to have two nominated members for this purpose, or at the most three. It should be possible to make this change even now in the Khasi district council by getting three nominated members to resign and then having an election for them. This would undoubtedly create a good impression.

23 The real problem of the district councils, however, is that of finance. They have very little money and everywhere I was asked for more financial assistance. The Assam Government has given Rs. 30,000 to each district council for initial expenses. This does not go far and it is difficult for these people to raise much money from their own resources right at the beginning. It is very important that this experiment of district councils should succeed. Their members are anxious to justify themselves and to do something, but they cannot do much in existing circumstances for lack of money. The success of these district councils would be a tremendous factor in this area. It would affect immediately the Naga area also, where thus far no such council has been constituted.

24 The Khasi district council raised a question of a sum of about rupees four and a half lakhs which had been kept in a separate account for them previously for the development of these areas. This sum, however, was taken over by the Assam Government. This has caused a good deal of resentment because the money was really earmarked for that area. I

mentioned this matter to the Chief Minister of Assam⁴ and he informed me that there were legal difficulties because that money had automatically become part of the consolidated fund of the province. It is obvious, however, that any legal difficulty can be got over and, if necessary, the money can be given as a grant by the Assam Government. The Chief Minister appreciated this argument and the demand and was inclined to view it favourably. I hope that this money will be given to the Khasi district council. That would solve their immediate difficulties. The other district councils will, however, remain still in an impecunious state and something will have to be done for them. They are even prepared to take loans.

25 There is also the question of their annual revenue from some kind of taxation. In many of these areas, there is no land revenue system and there are not many possibilities of raising money, at any rate to begin with. This matter might be explored.

26 As I have said above, no district council has been formed in the Naga Hills district. The situation there is a difficult one and the so-called Naga National Council headed by Zapu Phizo,⁵ commands considerable influence and is non-cooperative. Indeed, during the past few months there have been many incidents which indicate that the Nagas there are becoming more and more aggressive. Even while I was in the neighbourhood, an incident took place which resulted in the death of a Naga leader and injury to some of our officers. The Assam Government has appointed a committee for a judicial enquiry into this matter. Apart from the fact of this particular incident, it is quite clear to me that it is of the highest importance to appoint the right type of officer in these areas. Perhaps it is not easy to get the right

4 B. R. Medhi (1890-1981) Congress leader from Assam, Minister of Finance, Revenue and Legislation, Assam, 1946-50, Chief Minister, Assam, 1950-58, Governor of Tamil Nadu, 1958-64.

5 Angami Zapu Phizo (b. 1900) Leader of the Naga National Council since 1946, fled abroad, 1958 as he is wanted on murder charges in India.

type of officer, but he must be found. The wrong type does a great deal of harm. The Nagas, as most other tribal people, respond fairly easily to a friendly approach. They are proud and sensitive and do not like being treated as subject people or being looked down upon in any way. An officer has both to be friendly and understanding, and, at the same time, firm and very wide awake. I had the feeling that the situation in the Naga Hills would have been much better if it had been handled a little more competently by the local officers and if some officers who were notoriously unpopular had not been kept there. Also, any attempt to impose new ways and customs in the Nagas merely irritates and creates trouble.

27 The Assam Government appears to feel that the tribes are the responsibility of the Government of India and hence perhaps they have not in the past paid quite so much attention to them as they might have. The Government of India undoubtedly has a certain responsibility but so has the Assam Government also. The economic structure of this region has been upset by the partition and is also inevitably undergoing a change because of other reasons. During this period of transition, some help to them appears essential.

28 Complaints were made to me by the Khasis round about Shillong that land there, which had been deforested, had been given to non-Khasis, usually to clerks, etc. who had come from the plains below and were employees in the Secretariat. This has been resented by the Khasis who feel that if land was available, it should have been given to them. The impression, therefore, has grown that the people of the plains are encouraged at the expense of the people of the hills and there is an apprehension that a deliberate attempt is being made to increase the non-Khasi population of Shillong so that they might be ultimately in a majority. Land always, and more especially in this area, roused people's passions. Our Constitution has very rightly made an exception to the fundamental rights for the purpose of protecting the rights of the Scheduled Tribes in land and other property.

29. Owing to the partition chiefly, people living on the border areas have suffered greatly and their resources have been completely exhausted. In fact, as our Secretaries Committee reported, they had obviously become impoverished and had suffered from lack of adequate nutrition. Thus there is lack of purchasing power and unemployment. An urgent request was made to me for some kind of relief work especially in the Khasi areas. This appears to be desirable, particularly in the form of roads.

30. In some of these areas, there are some kind of chiefs or siems. There is a demand for their removal by the district council concerned. Legal opinion was taken and I believe our Law Ministry advised that this could not be done without payment of some compensation to them for the income in kind that they used to get. The sum involved, I think, was Rs. 8 lakhs and it was proposed that this should be paid in instalments. It is obvious that the district council is in no position to pay this compensation and they want the Assam Government or the Central Government to do so, even though this might be in the form of a loan advanced to them, which might be gradually paid off. I might mention that some of the chiefs also came to see me and did not particularly appreciate the idea of their being deprived of the privileges they had so far enjoyed.

31. Round about Cherra Punji, there is fairly good coal for lime, but transport is difficult and it can only be used in the neighbourhood.

32. I was repeatedly told that no responsible office was held in the Assam Secretariat by any of the tribal people. Even in the Tribal Department of the State Government, there was no such person. A good deal of importance was attached to this. I think that it is desirable to appoint someone in the State Tribal Department, so that they might have a feeling of being connected with the working of Government.

33. We have a Commissioner for Scheduled Tribes and

Scheduled Castes⁶ in the Government of India. He has done good work and he has some local representatives. I found that his representative⁷ for the North Eastern areas (he is supposed to cover Orissa also) was a good man but he appeared to be rather frustrated. It was not quite clear what he could do except to send reports occasionally. He was anxious that something should be done and was disappointed at the slowness of progress. Partly this is due to the fact that enough importance has not been attached to these tribal people, partly to the way our secretariat machinery works. There is too much of a legalistic and bureaucratic approach to a problem which above everything requires a human approach and imagination. Because of this legalistic approach, there was certain lack of confidence among the tribal folk. I am sure that this can be overcome if the approach changes somewhat, the right officers are appointed, and there is no indication that new ways will be imposed upon the tribal people against their wishes.

34. I have referred above to the language problem. This is to be faced especially in the schools. Also the teachers appointed were frequently unsuitable and could not get on with the students. These hill people may in some ways be backward but they have a certain pride and appreciated comradeship. They do not like being dominated over by people for whom they may not have much respect.

35. I must add that for some of our officers in the hills I have a good deal of admiration. They live quite cut off from the rest of the world and can only be reached occasionally by air. They have a hard life and only those who are especially suited can survive this for long. I think the question of special allowances for these officers should be given early consideration. It is difficult to get the right type of persons and the normal officer is not likely to be suitable. He does

6 L. M. Shrikant. For b fn see Vol 2, p 273

7 S K Bhandari

not want to go there and if he is sent, he is unhappy. I believe that the Assamese rates of pay for the hills are rather low.

36 The states of Manipur and Tripura stand on a somewhat different footing, although there are many common problems. Communications are bad. Tripura is partly surrounded by Pakistan. In fact, the only practicable way of going from some parts of Tripura to other parts is via Pakistan. Their trade was with Pakistan. The dominant people in these states are, of course, Manipuris and the Tripuris, both quite advanced. There are other tribes also and in Manipur there are many Nagas. Both of these states are rather small with a population of a few hundred thousands. And yet I think that it would be very unwise to merge them with some other State. That would create dissatisfaction and new problems. Both are in their way very distinctive with a special cultural development and both have a longish past history of their own. Both produce fine handicrafts. Indeed all the tribal people produce finely and artistically woven textiles, which exhibit a remarkable sense of colour.

37 The artistry of Manipur produced a strong impression upon me. I saw, at the instance of the Maharaja, a show containing a number of dances—Manipuri, Naga, and others. That show was quite a revelation. It was perfect in its artistry and aesthetic content. The normal dances that we see elsewhere in India (excepting of course the classical dances like Bharata Natyam) seemed pale and insipid in comparison with this show at Manipur. The dancers were professionals and had many years of hard training. But no amount of training can give that artistic touch and vitality which I found there, unless the people possess it.

38. Manipur textiles are famous and should certainly be encouraged in every way. One of the complaints made to me was that of a sales tax on hand-made textiles. As I looked at these textiles there, a feeling of regret came to me at the advance of our so-called civilization which might in the future push out these textiles and replace them by mill-made

cloth. Indeed a worthy Marwarī gentleman suggested to me, to my horror, that a textile mill might be started in Manipur.

39 The women of Manipur dominate the scene in the state. They are the workers and the producers, the men apparently prefer generally to relax and allow their womenfolk to earn money for them. There was a very large bazar, called the women's bazar, with hundreds of women and stalls and not a man was visible, except possibly as a purchaser

40 Both in Manipur and Tripura, there was the demand, strongly expressed, for what is called a democratic form of government, which meant an Assembly and a Ministry and presumably all the paraphernalia that accompanies them. The fact that they had Chief Commissioners governing them, hurt their pride very much. I think that very early steps have to be taken to vary the present system at least. We have already passed legislation authorizing the appointment of advisers.⁸ This at least should be done as soon as possible. I rather doubt if this will satisfy the people there. I think that a beginning should also be made, in Manipur especially, in the constitution of a municipality, local boards and gram panchayats. That will be a sound foundation for future growth. Ultimately, I think both Manipur and Tripura should have something much more than advisers. At the same time, I cannot view with any pleasure the expensive apparatus of an autonomous State being introduced in these small areas. There is no reason why there should not be a common Governor, or a Lieut. Governor and a common High Court as well as possibly some other common features in services. To that extent, they might be attached to Assam, the Governor of Assam being their Governor also. But I feel sure that it would not be desirable to merge them in any greater degree in a bigger State. For Manipur to lose its distinctive character and culture would be a misfortune. Manipuris, I might add, are an amazingly clean people and

8 The Advisory Council was set up in April 1953

one does not see a person wearing dirty cloths as is so common in the rest of India

41. Manipur has apparently always been a self-sufficient or even small surplus area in regard to food and possibly in regard to clothing also. The price of rice, I was told, till a few years ago, was Rs 5 per maund. Only a year or so ago, it was Rs 10/- Then it started rising steeply and reached the figure of Rs 45 or even more. This was a tremendous shock and caused great distress. I do not know all the details of the story, but obviously the principal reason for this was the export of 4000 tons of rice from Manipur to Assam. I suppose Assam's need was great, but that need was met at the cost of great scarcity and much misery in Manipur. People naturally did not like this early fruit of their close association in an independent India and compared it to their previous more prosperous condition when there was no lack of rice. I was told that later some rice, about 400 maunds, was sent from Assam to Manipur. This was a very small fraction, of what had been taken away. There is strong feeling on this subject and repeated demands were made for an enquiry as to who had bungled. The poor Chief Commissioner at the time had to suffer most from this resentment. I hope that in future, no such considerable export of rice will be encouraged from this small area.

42. Owing to the scarcity thus caused and also due to floods which caused some damage, there was a demand for relief. Some relief was given. The new crops are supposed to be good, in spite of the damage caused by the floods.

43. In Manipur there was some feeling of resentment at land being given to refugees from East Pakistan. But there were really not many refugees, probably under 500. In Tripura, however, there was a flood of these refugees and in recent weeks, I believe, about 50,000 more came. This had created a difficult situation. There was apparently plenty of land available there, but owing to lack of communications it could not be easily reached. The town of Tripura, which had a population of about 20,000, four or five years ago, has now

a population of 70,000 in the municipal area and 150,000 if the suburbs are included. The municipality is rather primitive and cannot possibly cope with this. It has no resources. It has only two taxes—a kind of income tax and the other a latrine tax. Evidently it was not thought fit to encourage latrines too much.

44 To my great regret, I could not visit the Lushai Hills district. I had hoped to go to Aijal, headquarters of the district, but the one passable road was partly washed away by the rains. This district is more cut off from India than any other part and lacks communications even more than the other hill areas. It lacks post offices and telegraph offices. And yet the Lushai people are fine and very attractive. Many Lushais came to see me elsewhere and begged for roads, post offices and schools. Also for landing strips for aircraft.

45 To sum up, I would say that all this North-East border area deserves our special attention, not only the Governments, but of the people of India. Our contacts with them will do us good and will do them good also. They add to the strength, variety and cultural richness of India. As one travels there, a new and vaster richness of India comes before the eyes and the narrowness of outlook which sometimes obsesses us, begins to fade away. One feels that India is not just one particular part which we might know intimately, but something infinitely more, meeting place of all manner of races, languages and cultures. Rabindranath Tagore wrote in one of his famous poems about India.—

No one knows at whose call so many streams of men
flowed in restless tides from places unknown and
were lost in one sea—here Aryan and non-Aryan,
Dravidian, Chinese, the bands of Sakas and the Hunas
and Pathan and Mogul, have become combined in one
body

46. In June 1952, I addressed the conference of Scheduled

Tribes and Scheduled Areas held in New Delhi ⁹ The speech I delivered at that time, though given on the spur of the moment, came to be looked upon as some kind of a statement of policy in regard to the tribal areas. Indeed it was printed and largely circulated in the North-Eastern Frontier Areas, and quotations from it were often made in the addresses presented to me. This speech has thus assumed an importance which it was not originally meant to have. On references being made to it in Assam and elsewhere, I went back to it myself and read it. I found that it did represent fairly clearly a certain approach to this problem of the tribes and that my new experience in the North-East Frontier confirmed my previous views. Because this speech has assumed a certain importance in this respect as a statement of Government policy, I am giving this as an appendix to this note ¹⁰

47 I received a very large number of addresses and memoranda. They varied greatly in quality and content, and yet there was much in common between them. The basic demands were similar. I had thought of attaching to this

9 In his address on 7 June 1952, Nehru described the tribals as "very virile people" with many admirable qualities, but cautioned against imposition of "our way of living" on them. He would prefer a psychological approach towards the tribals "to develop a sense of oneness with these people, a sense of unity and understanding" rather than a "dead approach" of "just opening hospitals and building roads." He criticized the anthropological approach of "treating these people as museum specimens" or the approach of either ignoring them or of "forcible assimilation." He stressed the need for encouragement of local languages and provision of facilities for development of cottage industries, health relief centres, and better means of communication.

10 For full text see *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, (Vol. 2, 1954), (Publications Division), pp. 576-582.

important work because some important members were not present

3 Mr. Eisenhower's⁶ victory in the election was a greater triumph than anyone had imagined possible in the circumstances. What exactly it represented, it is still a little difficult to say. Probably, many factors went into this—his personal popularity, a desire for a change after twenty years of Democratic rule, and, strangely enough, the desire of large numbers of people in the U.S., especially the women there, for peace in Korea. I say strangely enough because, in the balance, the Republican Party of the U.S. is supposed to contain those elements which are not inclined towards peace. But Eisenhower did apparently create an impression that he would put an end to the present stalemate. His dramatic and rather extraordinary pronouncement⁷ that he would go to Korea himself produced a marked effect. And yet his election, in the eyes of many people in other countries, rather weighted the scales against peace. This was largely due to the previous pronouncements of many leaders of the Republican Party.

4. The election is over, but even now there is a feeling of uncertainty about future American policy and people are waiting expectantly to know what Eisenhower's choice of his principal Secretaries and high officials is going to be. The most important appointment will be that of the Secretary of State who deals with foreign affairs.⁸ Much will depend on this choice which will indicate the future trend of American policy. There is a general impression that opinion in America, more especially in the dominant Republican groups, is hardening against peace in Korea. That is a

6 Dwight David Eisenhower (1890-1969) Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Second World War, President, United States of America, 1953-61. He was the first Republican President after twenty years.

7 On 24 October 1952 in his speech at Detroit.

8 John Foster Dulles was appointed Secretary of State on 20 November 1952.

New Delhi
20 November, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, I have visited some places in Madhya Pradesh and, more particularly, Sevagram ¹ The Parliamentary session has begun² and several important debates have taken place there. The Planning Commission has taken some further steps about the Five Year Plan and consulted the National Development Council about it.³ In the international field, a number of developments have taken place which may have far-reaching consequences

2. The fact that the United States of America now holds a dominating position in international affairs was reflected in the great interest taken in the Presidential election there ⁴ Indeed, for some time previous to the election, there seemed to be a lull in international affairs because no effective decisions could be taken till the Presidential election was over. Some time earlier in the year, it was even suggested that the meetings of the United Nations should be postponed till after these elections, but objection was taken to this by many nations. The General Assembly of the U.N. therefore met as previously announced⁵ but in effect it could not take up any

1 See ante, p 146

2 On 5 November 1952

3 The National Development Council met in New Delhi on 8 and 9 November 1952 and expressed its general approval and acceptance of the objectives, priorities and programmes embodied in the First Five Year Plan

4 Dwight D Eisenhower, the Republican candidate, defeated his Democratic opponent, Adlai E. Stevenson, in the elections completed on 4 November 1952. Richard M. Nixon was elected Vice-President.

5 The seventh session was opened on 14 October 1952 in New York

important work because some important members were not present.

3 Mr. Eisenhower's⁶ victory in the election was a greater triumph than anyone had imagined possible in the circumstances. What exactly it represented, it is still a little difficult to say. Probably, many factors went into this—his personal popularity, a desire for a change after twenty years of Democratic rule, and, strangely enough, the desire of large numbers of people in the U.S., especially the women there, for peace in Korea. I say strangely enough because, in the balance, the Republican Party of the U.S. is supposed to contain those elements which are not inclined towards peace. But Eisenhower did apparently create an impression that he would put an end to the present stalemate. His dramatic and rather extraordinary pronouncement⁷ that he would go to Korea himself produced a marked effect. And yet his election, in the eyes of many people in other countries, rather weighted the scales against peace. This was largely due to the previous pronouncements of many leaders of the Republican Party.

4. The election is over, but even now there is a feeling of uncertainty about future American policy and people are waiting expectantly to know what Eisenhower's choice of his principal Secretaries and high officials is going to be. The most important appointment will be that of the Secretary of State who deals with foreign affairs.⁸ Much will depend on this choice which will indicate the future trend of American policy. There is a general impression that opinion in America, more especially in the dominant Republican groups, is hardening against peace in Korea. That is a

6 Dwight David Eisenhower (1890-1969) Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Second World War, President, United States of America, 1953-61. He was the first Republican President after twenty years.

7 On 24 October 1952 in his speech at Detroit.

8 John Foster Dulles was appointed Secretary of State on 20 November 1952.

dangerous signal because Korea is not only important in itself, but has become a symbol and a portent

5 Two days ago our delegation at the U.N. released the resolution they are putting forward on the Korean question⁹ This resolution has been very carefully drafted after innumerable talks and interviews with the representatives of other countries at the U.N. We have naturally been kept fully informed of these developments and it was with our agreement that this resolution was framed. The principal Powers concerned were kept informed. The People's Government of China is, of course, not present at the U.N., but we took care to inform them of our line of approach and subsequently of the terms of the resolution. There is no doubt that the resolution has met with a favourable response from many countries. But we are still completely unsure as to its fate, which will depend on the final decisions taken by some of the Great Powers, notably the U.S.A., and the U.K., on the one side, and Russia and China, on the other. Russia and China have expressed no opinion about it. At the most we can say that they are not hostile to it and that is something. We have gathered the impression that the Chinese Government would not reject this resolution. But there is no commitment. Indeed, it is perhaps a little difficult for them to give a specific answer and commit themselves before they know what others do. That probably applies to the Soviet also. I imagine that the U.K. would not come in

9 The resolution among other things proposed that the release and repatriation of prisoners of war be effected in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1949, the well-established principles of international law and the relevant provisions of the draft armistice agreement, that the prisoners should neither be prevented nor forced to return to their countries and a repatriation commission consisting of the representatives of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland should supervise this arrangement, and that a political conference be convened within 90 days to settle by negotiation withdrawal of foreign troops and peaceful settlement of the Korean question. These proposals were communicated to the People's Republic of China and North Korea by the President of the General Assembly.

the way of the resolution, left to themselves. The attitude of the U.S.A. thus is of crucial importance. Unfortunately, immediately after the publication of this resolution, a spokesman of the U.S.A. indicated that it would not be acceptable.¹⁰ That need not be taken as a final rejection, but it does mean that difficulties are ahead. In any event, we have tried out utmost in all good faith to bring about a settlement in Korea and we have taken into consideration and tried to adjust the various conflicting viewpoints. I have no doubt whatever that given the will to a settlement, there would be little difficulty in finding a solution. If that will is absent, then obviously it does not matter much what formula or form of words are used.

6 There are three possibilities in Korea: (1) a continuation of the present stalemate and petty fighting, (2) an agreement about the armistice as a first step towards a solution, and (3) an extension of the conflict. It is highly unlikely that the present position will or can continue for long. I have said that there is petty fighting going on now. This is true and yet this should not mislead us, because the casualties are fairly heavy on both sides. Fighting has reverted to the kind we had in the First World War in Europe, that is, trench warfare. Each party has entrenched itself strongly and tries to dislodge the other from this position. The result is that casualties are heavy and fighting, though on a small scale, is fairly intense. An odd hill changes hands repeatedly, making little difference to the general position but meaning heavy loss in human beings. What the effect of this type of fighting is in China, I do not know, though I hardly think they can welcome its continuation. It is clear in America that this

¹⁰ On 18 November, the American spokesman, rejecting the Indian resolution, said that any armistice agreement must decide the issue of the prisoners of war once and for all and not defer it to any subsequent political conference as proposed in the Indian plan. He further said that though the Indian resolution accepted the principle of non-forcible repatriation, the U.S. could not accept prisoners to be "in the indefinite custody of some repatriation machinery."

present stalemate and continuing loss is intensely disliked and the tendency is to get out of it anyhow either by peace or by war on a larger scale

7 We might thus rule out the first of these possible courses and we are left with the other two, namely, a possible settlement or war on a larger scale. Perhaps the next few weeks will decide this vital question. No one can prophesy at this stage what that decision will be. On the one side, there is a widespread and overwhelming desire for peace everywhere. On the other, there are certain forces at work which appear to drive inexorably towards war. That war, once it is let loose over a larger field, will grow of its own momentum. The immediate future, therefore, is anything but satisfactory. This does not mean, of course, that widespread war will suddenly descend upon us. At the worst, what might happen is that some other step is taken which leads one nearer to that war which the world dreads.

8 The major question, therefore, before the U.N. today is the question of Korea, and India is playing a fairly important part in trying to bring together these hostile groups which dislike and distrust each other intensely. There are, other important questions also before the U.N.—the racial issue which has been raised in South Africa is one of these. This in effect includes the question of people of Indian descent in South Africa. The Supreme Court of the Union of South Africa has recently decided¹¹ against Dr. Malan's contentions and his attempt to set up Parliament as an overriding judicial authority.¹² That has brought matters to a head. And yet, on the whole, it has had a calming effect on the situation. But the passive resistance movement continues and maintains its discipline and peaceful character. There have been one or two instances of violent conflict, notably at

11 On 13 November 1952

12 See *ante*, p. 8

Port Elizabeth ¹³ But they do not, I think, affect the peaceful character of the struggle launched by Africans and Indians alike in South Africa. In East Africa, a strange and dangerous situation has developed. It is said on the British side that some secret terrorist organizations, pledged to drive out Europeans, have been carrying on a campaign of assassination, and therefore the Government there must take all necessary measures to suppress them. Whatever the truth in this charge might be, two facts stand out. Why are Africans there so utterly dissatisfied as to have to indulge in such deplorable activities? The second is that this widespread repression can only worsen the situation in the long run.

9. This reference to Africa reminds me of two distinguished African visitors to India. These are two Ministers of the Nigerian Government in West Africa, who are on a visit to India at present.¹⁴ Nigeria and the Gold Coast¹⁵ have got a measure of self-government and some kind of Ministries have been formed there. To some extent these two places look upon themselves as the leaders of the Africans, because they are now exercising some authority in their own countries. On their success or failure will depend much in Africa. The two Ministers who are here are anxious for our help and co-operation in building their countries up. We shall certainly give them such help as we can.

10. The racial issue has been discussed at the U.N. and

¹³ Eleven persons were killed and 25 injured and property valued at £100,000 destroyed during riots on 18 October at New Brighton, a model "native" township at Port Elizabeth.

¹⁴ Obafemi Awolowo and A.M.A. Akinloye visited India for a fortnight from 11 November to study the electoral system and see the important factories, agricultural centres and scientific, educational and medical institutions.

¹⁵ See Vol 2, p 357

India has been taking a lead in this ¹⁶ We have received a very large measure of support, though I regret to say that the U.K. has in this matter, as in some others, sided with reactionary elements. So also the U.S.A. Both these great countries do not appear to realize how they are endangering their world position in the eyes of innumerable people by the attitude they adopt in regard to certain colonial and like problems

11. The U.K. and the U.S.A. have proposed a resolution on Kashmir in the Security Council.¹⁷ This resolution, though it appears to be worded in an impartial way and might take in the unwary, is really very partial and biased towards the contention of Pakistan, and it ignores what has been said on behalf of India and indeed goes back on certain decisions taken by agreement by the U.N. Commission of Kashmir. We cannot possibly accept this resolution. We have not said so formally yet because the matter has not come up again before the Security Council. But the fact that we will not accept this resolution is now fairly well-known. Meanwhile, developments have taken place in the Jammu and Kashmir state and the Constitution there has been changed and this

16. The General Assembly after discussing the racial issue for over a fortnight, passed on 20 November a resolution sponsored by 18 Afro-Asian nations recommending that the U.N. Fact-Finding Commission should investigate the problem of racial discrimination in South and South-West Africa and study the international aspects and implications of apartheid. The resolution was voted with 35 in favour, 2 against and 22 abstentions, among which were Britain and the United States.

17. The resolution introduced on 6 November urged India and Pakistan to accept Graham's proposals to demilitarize Kashmir with twelve to eighteen thousand troops left on the Indian side of the line and three to six thousand on the Pakistan side. The resolution was rejected by India on 8 November 1952.

change given effect to.¹⁸ Yuvaraj Karan Singh¹⁹ was elected as the new head of the state by the J & K Constituent Assembly,²⁰ which thereupon recommended his name to our President. The President approved of this recommendation and on the 17th November the Yuvaraj was installed in Srinagar with much pomp and circumstance as the Sadr-i-Riyasat, the new name given to the head of the state in Kashmir. This change-over appears to have been widely welcomed in Kashmir. But in Jammu some dissatisfaction has been expressed by some Jammu Hindus who function in the Praja Parishad.²¹

12 Kashmir thus starts a new chapter in its history and is the first state to have an elected Head, although formally the Sadr-i-Riyasat is approved and recognized by our President. This is a significant change which finally breaks with a past tradition. At the same time, there is a kind of a continuation because the Yuvaraj was chosen as the Sadr-i-Riyasat. Thus, while people talk and argue in the Security Council, a new shape is being given to the state and it goes ahead along the path of its choice.

13. There has been a good deal of hysterical talk and writing in Pakistan over the Kashmir issue and all kinds of threats have been hurled at us. The Muslim League at two

18 On 12 November, the Kashmir Constituent Assembly passed a Bill providing for an elected head of state, called the Sadr-i-Riyasat in place of the Maharaja.

19 (b 1951) Regent, Jammu and Kashmir state, 1949-52, Sadr-i-Riyasat, 1952-65, Governor, 1965-67, Union Minister for Tourism and Civil Aviation, 1967-73, Health and Family Planning, 1973-77, and Education, 1979-80, author of *In Defence of Religion*, *An Autobiography* (2 Volumes), and other works.

20 On 14 November 1952.

21 The Praja Parishad started a campaign in Jammu on 23 November in favour of Kashmir's total accession to the Indian Union and to protest against the displacement of the Maharaja and the form of election of the Sadr-i-Riyasat.

recent meetings in Dacca²² and Lyallpur²³ has passed strong resolutions and even Prime Minister Nazimuddin has spoken rather irresponsibly²⁴ What all this signifies, it is a little difficult to say It may mean just bluff, it may mean an attempt to frighten the Security Council of the U N , or it may mean something more dangerous I have addressed a long communication to the Pakistan Prime Minister yesterday on this subject

14 The Pakistan Prime Minister had previously protested against the holding of an All India East Bengal Protest Day²⁵ This, as you know, has been organized by a number of Opposition parties, chiefly in Calcutta This move was criticized by me in strong terms in the course of the debate on East Bengal in Parliament²⁶ I am really surprised that such an irresponsible step should have been taken. This cannot possibly do any good to the minorities in East Bengal and the only effect of it is likely to be greater tension and apprehension of trouble I do not think that there will be any

22 On 13 October 1952, the Pakistan Muslim League Council unanimously adopted a resolution urging the U N to take prompt action on Kashmir and asserting that the "liberation" of the people of Kashmir was "an article of faith with the people of Pakistan"

23 At its conference in Lyallpur from 7 to 9 November, the Muslim League asked the Pakistan Government "to take direct action for the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir if the United Nations persists in its dilatory tactics " It spoke of "the grave and explosive situation created by the deliberate inaction of the United Nations", and promised "the liberation of occupied Kashmir in two months "

24 On 7 November, Nazimuddin said "I assure you that on the Kashmir question truth and justice are on the Pakistani side and whatever difficulties may be, success will ultimately be ours The Pakistani Government are resolved that they will not rest till they have secured for the people of Kashmir the right of free vote "

25 The call for the "protest day" on 23 November, was jointly given by the Praja Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akali Party and the Forward Bloc in the second week of November The Government of India replying on 21 November to the protest note of the Pakistan Government, assured that they would "take proper measures to maintain communal peace "

26 On 15 November 1952

trouble because we shall take adequate precautions But I must say that this move has distressed me as it indicates an attempt to exploit the situation for party advantage.

15. We had a long debate in Parliament about this East Bengal situation and I spoke at some length there.²⁷ You may have perhaps seen a report of my speech and I shall therefore not repeat it here. It seems to me perfectly clear that the various proposals made by the Opposition were objectionable. The previous proposals, namely an exchange of population or a transfer of territory, have practically been given up by their own supporters. Now stress is being laid on economic sanctions against Pakistan.²⁸ As a matter of fact, we have very little trade with Pakistan at present and we have no trade treaty or arrangement. There is some private trade; probably there is much more smuggling. To have economic sanctions, therefore, has no particular meaning in terms of applying economic pressure on Pakistan. It has a meaning in a different context, for it would indicate a further major breach with Pakistan and a widening of the gulf that separates us. It would mean immediately a worsening of the conditions in which the minorities in East Bengal live. It might well lead to other inevitable steps, and finally to conflict. We cannot deal with these vital questions in this casual and irresponsible way. Sentiment is good, but a nation's affairs cannot be conducted on the basis of sentiment only.

27 S P Mookerjee, N C Chatterjee, Sucheta Kripalani, and N B Khare were among the members of the Opposition who spoke in the debate in Parliament on 15 November. Replying to the debate, Nehru said that the issue "cannot and must not be considered from the communal point of view" but the solution could be found by adopting a "political approach". He appealed for "the touch of healing" to the bruised relations between India and Pakistan.

28 Twenty three members moved a joint amendment to the official motion in the Lok Sabha on the East Bengal problem calling upon the Government to take "firm and effective steps including economic sanctions, so that conditions may be created in East Pakistan which would enable the minorities to live in peace and honour."

16 We have to be firm with Pakistan and not allow vital interests of self-respect to suffer. But, at the same time, we must remember always that we cannot live for ever in terms of hostility with Pakistan. If we thought of doing so, then we have to give up all ideas of development and progress. Two countries like India and Pakistan are so intimately connected that continued hostility between them is likely to ruin both and invite foreign interference. We may do a great deal of injury to Pakistan and might defeat it in war. But both countries will in effect be ruined if that extreme step had to be taken. We would not even be strong enough to stand up against any external interference. We must realize, therefore, that while we have to be firm, we have also always to remember that sometime or other we have to come much nearer to each other and become friends. Such a policy may not appear immediately to be very attractive. But I have no doubt that it is the right and the wise policy and a policy which will be beneficial to the minorities in Eastern Pakistan. It is most unfortunate that there are no effective leaders in Pakistan at present and it is always difficult to deal with a weak Government which cannot make up its mind or dare not take right action for fear of disapproval by some extreme group. The mere fact that political and economic conditions have deteriorated in Pakistan weakens that Government still further. We must always remember, however, that there is such a thing as the people of a country and ultimately they count. They might be excited or worked up to a pitch occasionally as the people of Pakistan have been from time to time. But I have little doubt that great numbers of people in Pakistan would like to have more friendly and co-operative relations with India. We should encourage this tendency and work to this end, always being prepared for any emergency that might arise. Thus, we shall not only do the right thing in terms of the present and the future, but will also be adopting the most practical and worthwhile course. We cannot become cheap imitators of Pakistan's policy of tactics. We are, I hope, a mature nation with a mature leadership and we should function, therefore,

with vision and not allow ourselves to be hustled into wrong action.

17 In Ceylon, in spite of our best efforts, the Government has gone ahead with its policy which deliberately keeps out a very large number of persons of Indian descent from becoming citizens and voters. An amending bill has been passed²⁹ by the Ceylon Parliament with the object of bypassing the effect of the recent decisions of their own Supreme Court and the Privy Council.³⁰ This is most unfortunate Ceylon is a little brother to us and it seems most unbecoming that we should take any steps which might estrange the people of that country. And yet, the attitude of the Ceylon Government makes any solution of this problem more and more difficult

18. There has been much argument about controls and decontrols of foodgrains and a great deal of confusion arose on this subject. The recent debate in Parliament will, I hope, put an end to this confusion and make the policy of Government clear.³¹ It was, as you know, our intention to hold a conference of State Food Ministers. This conference was later postponed because, as a matter of fact, the immediate questions before us were relatively simple and we were hardly in a position to discuss the larger issues at short notice. The immediate issue was certain relaxations in regard to coarse grains such as *jowar*, etc. This has been agreed to

19 In the course of these discussions and investigations, we realized from a study of such statistics as were placed before us that food production was greater than we had

29 On 13 November 1952

30 See *ante*, p 146

31 After two days of discussion, the Lok Sabha approved on 18 November the Government's policy of "general control of foodgrains" with adjustments to suit local or temporary conditions. Nehru, speaking in the debate, said that the Government proposed to keep the "tightest grip" on the food situation "by control at strategic points", as they did not want their basic policy to be disturbed

imagined; in fact, there was no marked deficit in the country, though, owing to maldistribution, certain areas had suffered because of a deficit. This realization is welcome because it indicates that in a moment of crisis we can pull through with our own resources. It indicates also that the possibility of being self-sufficient in food is not so far away as we had previously imagined. This question of import of foodgrains is of vital importance, because such imports eat up our foreign exchange. We have been tied up to sterling. The fate of sterling is uncertain. Our Finance Minister is going within a day or two to London³² to discuss in conference there the future of sterling. There has been some apprehension about this conference and the decisions it might take. I might inform you that no commitment is going to be made on behalf of India there and we shall consider our own policy fully after the conference and decide if any change is necessary.

20 Our ideal has been of self-sufficiency in food. That means no imports, except perhaps on very special occasions when there is some calamity to face. To reduce our imports as rapidly as possible has now become a major problem because this question is tied up with our entire development programme. The more we import, the less we invest in development. We should, therefore, make every effort to reduce our imports, taking care always to keep adequate stocks in hand, so as to be able to control the food situation.

³² The Commonwealth Economic Conference held in London from 27 November to 9 December 1952 agreed to (1) concentration on such development projects which would improve the balance of payments of the sterling areas with the rest of the world, with the additional capital to finance them being provided by Britain, (2) co-operation among the Commonwealth countries to ensure stability of prices for primary products, and (3) seeking of co-operation of the United States and the European countries to increase trade by the removal of trade barriers and the gradual restoration of the convertibility of sterling under suitable conditions.

in the country. This means, *inter alia*, as much procurement as can be had, subject to other relevant considerations.

21. In particular, the question of rice imports is troublesome as rice from abroad costs us much more than wheat imports. We are one of the biggest rice-producing countries in the world. It is strange, therefore, that we should be deficit in rice. I believe that our overall deficit in rice is about two per cent. Surely it should be in our power to cover this deficit by greater production or better distribution and prevention of wastage and misuse. If necessary, we might even revert to an appeal which I previously made that wheat-eaters should give up rice and reserve it for the rice-eating States. In this matter of rice, I should particularly invite your co-operation because this is intimately bound up with our entire development programme and the strength of our basic economy. The less we import it, the more can we undertake schemes of development. I am told that there probably is enough rice in the country if we can but use it to the best advantage. But we have experienced some difficulty in some of the rice-growing States in getting enough surplus rice from there for the deficit areas which require rice. I would earnestly request you to help us in this matter and to make available as much rice from your State as you can possibly give us.

22. We have stated repeatedly that our basic policy of controlling the economy of the country must continue not only now, but later. At the same time, we have gone somewhat in the direction of decontrol within certain areas.³³ There is nothing contradictory about this, except to the doctrinaire. Controls, in order to be effective, should not

³³ Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, the Food and Agriculture Minister, announced on 17 November that the Government had decided to continue the existing controls on rice and wheat while relaxing control on millets and other coarse grains. Also, while the existing inter-State checks on coarse grains would continue, the deficit States could meet the shortfall in their requirements by purchasing directly from the surplus States with the approval of the Central Government.

be spread out all over the place thus making for ineffectiveness and a great deal of harassment. Effective control means control of strategic points and allowing free trade in limited areas. Even in the authoritarian countries, where there is the fullest control of their economy, there is often a field where a free market flourishes. What we have to see is that this limited free market does not affect the basic control of the situation. Subject to that and subject to other considerations, we are entirely justified in removing petty controls. Even in regard to procurement, it is generally better to deal effectively with the big growers and to leave the small grower out of that picture. The real crux of the question is how far we are in possession of the strategic points and how far we have got a large enough stock in hand to meet any emergency or any maldistribution. Therefore, a mere theoretical consideration of the question of controls and decontrols has little significance. If we hold on to our basic policy, we can relax or adjust ourselves in many minor matters, thus perhaps helping that basic policy much more and, at the same time, lessening the harassment of the public.

23 I referred at the beginning of this letter to my visit to Sevagram. I had gone there after three years and I was moved by this visit to many places which were so closely bound up in my mind with Gandhiji and with our past work. I went there, more particularly, to attend a Basic Education Conference held by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.³⁴ The first thing that struck me was the simplicity of the arrangements for a conference of about one thousand delegates. These delegates were provided board and lodging and a special *pandal* had been erected for the conference itself. All this was done with extreme simplicity and artistry, and the expenditure on it was very little. The *pandal* was a bamboo structure with a covering of leaves, etc. I was told that the entire cost of the conference, including board and lodging, was about rupees seven thousand or less. The

conference lasted three days. This money was realized in the form of the registration fees of rupees two from each delegate and one rupee and eight annas each per day for food tickets. There was no deficit and there was no special collection of funds from Government or the public for this conference. I compared this to our other arrangements for conferences in Delhi or elsewhere and the heavy expenditure incurred on them. It is true that we cannot duplicate the conditions at Sevagram elsewhere. Nevertheless, the gap was a very big one and I felt that we should learn much from the way things are done at Sevagram.

24. Whether in Delhi or in other parts of India or whether we go abroad, there is, perhaps naturally, a tendency for us to copy the way other countries manage their functions. In particular, our foreign Missions have to conform to certain standards laid down previously by diplomatic custom and procedure. To some extent we have to do that and it is right and proper that we should maintain the dignity of India wherever we might function. But dignity does not come from lavish display. It comes from taste and artistry and the personality behind all this. We have no desire to compete with other countries in ostentation or display. We are a poor country and we must always avoid any unnecessary or wasteful expenditure, remembering that it is at the cost of the millions of our people in India. But, apart from the money involved, there is the question of taste and it does not appear fitting to me that some of us should function in a way which is so removed from conditions in India. It is our purpose to lessen differences and bridge the gap that separates one class from another in India.

25. Basic education has been recognized by us all over the country and yet the change-over to it is slow and sometimes it is not on the right lines. I have no doubt whatever in my mind that this is the right kind of education for our boys and girls. It may be slightly adapted to changing conditions in different States, but the principles governing it should not be bypassed. Indeed, we should think much more than we do

of pre-basic education. That is the vital age of the child. Basic gives place later to post-basic and we have to keep this full picture before us in developing our educational methods. Almost everybody criticises the old style of education in India. The Universities are not functioning well and their standards go down. Various Commissions investigate, make reports and recommendations, but we remain, more or less, where we were.

26. In particular, it seems to me that basic education is ideally suited to the tribal and like areas. I hope that special efforts would be made in the North-Eastern tribal regions for basic education which just fits in with the environment there. In doing so, however, we must remember that we fit in with the ways and customs of those people and do not try to impose ourselves upon them.

27. The other day, at a public gathering, I expressed concern at the large number of officials and others who are going abroad for some kind of training. It is good to send our people abroad for special training and we must never allow ourselves to become isolated from the rest of the world or to draw ourselves into our shells, as we did for some hundreds of years, with very unfortunate consequences. I am, therefore, not at all against our people going abroad for training. But I am rather concerned at the number of our officials and others who go abroad under some scheme of scholarship or fellowship. There is the question of a large sum of money involved and foreign exchange becomes more and more difficult. But there is a more important aspect of this. I am not quite sure if all these people who go abroad really profit by it as much as we would like them to. They have to serve in India and it is more important that they should know conditions in India and the people of India than that they should learn about techniques and method which may be inapplicable in India in present circumstances. It seems to me very odd, for instance, that any one should go to learn

20 November, 1952

social service in a foreign country. I am quite sure that he could learn much more at Sevagram or at some other place in India

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
4 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

The major event of the last fortnight in the international field has been our Korean resolution in the United Nations ¹ This has already been passed by an overwhelming majority in the Political Committee and no doubt it will be passed by the General Assembly also.² The majority is very big and yet I am not happy over the situation. It has been our belief ever since the Korean trouble started that peace could only be established there with the consent of the major parties concerned. Indeed the big blunder committed by some countries, notably the U.S.A., in refusing to recognize the new China, has been one of the principal reasons for all that has followed. It was patent that peace in the Far East could only be established by some agreement of the major powers interested and among these were obviously China and the U.S.S.R. Because of this we refused to ally ourselves with attempts to condemn China and call it an aggressor. This did not mean going towards a settlement but rather towards greater conflict.

2. Therefore, what matters in the Far East is not a majority in the U.N., but the general agreement among the Western and Eastern Powers concerned. Unfortunately China has not accepted our resolution and as for the U.S.S.R., their representative at the U.N. has used very strong language

1. See ante, p 16.

2. The resolution was passed by the U.N. Political Committee on 1 December and by the General Assembly on 4 December 1952.

against it.³ The language perhaps might be discounted a little, as this has become a habit. But the fact remains that the Soviet Union and China are opposed to this resolution and without their consent there will not be peace in Korea.

3. Why then did we proceed with this resolution? For two reasons: One was that not to do so would have meant a bad and aggressive resolution⁴ being passed which would have worsened the situation greatly.⁵ The other is that our resolution, though not accepted by China, still leaves the door open for a settlement or at least a consideration of the problem on a new basis. It is after all a recommendation. We could not possibly withdraw that resolution at a later stage when such a large number of countries had supported it and it had evoked a remarkable peace sentiment in the United Nations. Whether we could withdraw it or not in the strict legal sense, I do not know. But a withdrawal would have meant the giving up almost of hope for the future and would have brought much discredit upon us. We had, therefore, to proceed with it in the best manner possible. You will have seen that we have refrained from using any harsh words and

3 Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister, on 24 November, called the principle of non-forcible repatriation of prisoners as "artificially fabricated" and in contravention of the Geneva Convention of 1949. He also alleged that the Indian proposal was a cover to hide the fact of "forcible detention" and was "not designed to end the Korean war but to perpetuate it."

4 Under the terms of the joint 21-Power draft resolution, moved by U.K. and U.S.A., which came before the Political Committee of the General Assembly on 24 October 1952, the Governments of People's China and North Korea were asked "to avert further bloodshed by having their negotiators agree to an armistice which recognized the right of all prisoners of war to an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated and which avoided the use of force in their repatriation."

5 On 2 December, the Chairman of the U.N. Political Committee announced that consideration of all other resolutions on Korea would remain suspended pending the report by the President of the Assembly on the response of People's Republic of China and North Korea to the Indian resolution.

have tried to maintain the debate on a friendly level in spite of the strong language used against us by the Soviets

4. I must confess that I was surprised at the attitude of China and the virulence of Russia in this matter. Right from the beginning we have kept in close touch with China over this affair. For months past we have been communicating with them and trying to explore some way out. The Chinese Government, as indeed the U.K., more especially, and partly the U.S.A., encouraged us. We did not wish to take any step which might embarrass either party. We had thus to proceed cautiously. The Chinese Government, even a short time ago, definitely asked us to continue our efforts. That, of course, did not mean any commitment on their part to any particular course and they always laid the greatest stress on their objection to what is called "voluntary repatriation". Our object was to find some honourable and reasonable way which should be acceptable to both parties. We proceeded on various suggestions thrown out from time to time from China as well as some of the Western countries

5. The first step we took was to formulate certain principles on which our resolution should be based. These principles were discussed in New York by our delegation with representatives of some of the more important countries, notably the U.K., U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R. China, of course, was not there, but we communicated these principles to the Chinese Government. They did not give us any reply and did not commit themselves in any way. But we certainly gathered an impression that they were not opposed to them. Indeed, the absence of a reply for many days itself led us to this conclusion.

6. At a later stage we drafted that resolution formally basing it on those principles. Immediately, we communicated this full resolution to the Chinese Government. Again there was no quick response. Meanwhile, the resolution leaked out through the U.S.A. Government and an American spokesman rejected it even before it was

moved.⁶ The U.K., however, strongly supported it and so did many other countries. In fact, the U.S.A. was rather isolated and was compelled to change its attitude to a large extent because of the powerful support that our resolution got in the U.N. and the general peace sentiment that it had raised there. For the first time, the U.K. and the U.S.A. had openly disagreed on a vital issue.

7. All this time there was silence on the part of the Soviet Union and China. Our delegation then made some very minor changes, of little importance, in the resolution to meet, to some extent, the objections raised by the U.S.A.⁷ Even so we rejected many points that the U.S.A. pressed on us. Possibly this attempt somewhat to meet the U.S.A. irritated the Soviet Union.

8. But, in reality, the causes lay much deeper and, for contrary reasons, the U.S.S.R., and some powerful sections in the U.S.A., were not at all anxious for a settlement that did no violence to their own basic position. One gets the impression that China's final attitude was partly at least governed by Soviet advice or pressure.

9. We shall have to wait now for further developments. Nothing much can happen quickly, but it is possible that our resolution might, directly or indirectly, lead to a new approach at Panmunjom. Much depends on Mr. Eisenhower's attitude. Meanwhile, some light has been thrown on the attitude of various countries. On one side, it would appear that China is more closely associated with the Soviet Union than might have been thought. On the other hand, we have seen that there are limits beyond which the

⁶ See *ante*, p 169

⁷ On 22 November, the United States demanded a provision in the Indian plan against the possibility of prisoners being repatriated against their will. The Indian delegation tried to meet US objections by proposing that in case no decision on repatriation was taken within 60 days, the jurisdiction over the prisoners of war would be transferred to the United Nations.

U.K. and some other European nations are not prepared to go even under pressure from the U S A

10 I have recently visited Sanchi in Bhopal state⁸ to participate in a certain ceremony connected with the opening of a new *Vihara* where some Buddhist relics were deposited.⁹ These relics were of two of the principal disciples of the Buddha. They had been discovered about a hundred years ago in Sanchi by an English archaeologist and later taken to the British Museum. Five years ago, at our request, they were returned.¹⁰ Since then they have been taken to some Buddhist countries—Ceylon, Burma, Ladakh, Siam, Cambodia—and vast crowds have paid homage to them. They have now been brought back and deposited in a new *Vihara* which has been built near the famous Sanchi *stupa* with its beautiful gateway.

11. On this occasion many eminent Buddhists came to Sanchi from other countries, notably the Prime Minister of Burma.¹¹ There was a Buddhist Cultural Conference¹² also presided over by our Vice-President. The occasion assumed a certain significance and indicated how, more and more, the mind of India is thinking of the Buddha and his gospel of peace. Additional stress was given to this because of the international situation.

12 In a sense there has been this tendency apparent in India ever since independence. Our national crest is taken from the capital of the Asoka column; on our flag the wheel which occurs in this capital and elsewhere, finds pride of place in the centre. Buddha, of course, is revered in India.

8 On 29 and 30 November 1952

9 The relics of Sariputta and Maha Moggallana, the chief disciples of Lord Buddha, were brought back from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

10 See Vol 1, p 267

11 U Nu. For b fn see Vol 1, p 18

12 The International Buddhist Cultural Conference was held on 29 November 1952

But it is true that he is thought of more in a distant way as one of the great ones of India, rather than more intimately, although he is the greatest historical figure that India has produced. It is a fortunate sign, therefore, that people's minds are turning more now to this great son of India whose message has moved innumerable people during past ages.

13. In Iraq, there have been grave disturbances.¹³ It is a little difficult for us to form a correct appraisal of the situation there, but the general picture in these Middle-Eastern countries is fairly clear. These countries have been backward economically and certain feudal elements in land have played a large part in their public life. Industry is not at all developed. Foreign powers, notably the U.K., have consistently relied upon these feudal and semi-feudal elements and ignored the more progressive forces which were gradually rising. The trouble in Iran was due to this and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company there tried to control the fortunes of the country through these reactionary elements. A time came when a fierce and undisciplined nationalism broke through and upset all the schemes of the oil company and the plans of the U.K. The result has been that the U.K. has suffered greatly in the loss of its prestige and in its very large holdings in Iran and, at the same time, Iran has tended to disintegrate. In Iraq, conditions are somewhat different, but the same basic forces are at work. All this indicates the failure of Western policy in these

¹³ In reaction to the Royal Proclamation of 27 October calling for fresh general elections, all opposition parties, except Constitutional Unionists, gave a call for its boycott and demanded amendment of the constitution to give Parliament more powers, introduction of agrarian reforms, abrogation of the Anglo Iraqi Friendship Treaty of 1928 and withdrawal from the proposed Middle East Command as envisaged by the Western Powers. In reaction to this the non-party Cabinet headed by Mustafa el-Umari resigned on 22 November. The following day, the Chief of the General Staff, General Nureddin Muhammad, taking over as Prime Minister, proclaimed martial law, ordered dissolution of all political parties, and arrested all opposition leaders.

Middle-Eastern countries to adapt themselves to changing conditions. To some extent that has been so in Egypt also.

14. Far more serious developments are taking place in East Africa where there appears to be a complete break between the Africans and the British ruling authority. It is stated that a secret society among the Africans, called the Mau Mau, has been indulging in murders and other terroristic activities against Government officials and those who are loyal to them. As a result of this, very stern repressive measures have been taken against them. Practically large parts of Kenya are under martial law and the Africans are living in a state of terror. Whatever the faults of the Mau Mau might be, and it is obvious that they will not achieve anything by terroristic methods, it is still more obvious that this method of repression of a whole people must end in utter failure. The whole of Africa is being powerfully influenced by these developments and a situation has been created which might lead to the most disastrous results.

15. At this moment, the Indian community in East Africa could have and ought to have played a helpful role. Unfortunately, they have done no such thing and they have shown an amazing timidity. Indian lawyers, except for one young man, have refused to defend the African leaders who are being tried. The result is that African sentiment in East Africa has turned to some extent against the local Indian community and our work of the past few years has been partly undone. Fortunately, some statements made in India have helped to balance this sentiment. At the request of some

14. It was officially disclosed in London on 9 December 1952 that since the declaration of the state of emergency in Kenya, 18,000 persons had been detained. At Kisumu, in a firing on 2 February, 1953, 25 Africans died. On 25 November, 11 Africans lost their lives and on 3 December, during a police raid on a building where a Mau Mau meeting was being held, seven Africans were killed.

African organizations, a senior lawyer¹⁵ from India has gone to participate in the defence.¹⁶

16. In Indo-China, the Viet Minh forces have been gradually pushing back the French and Vietnam forces and have already occupied some important strategic points. The French position, therefore, grows progressively weaker. If it is militarily weaker, it is still more so from the political and psychological points of view. It is very extraordinary how some of the old colonial powers cannot adjust themselves to the new conditions that have arisen and to the new balance of power that is developing. This applied equally to the French and Portuguese establishments in India. It is clear to any person with the least understanding that these foreign pockets cannot be tolerated in India and will have to go. It would have been far better for this change-over to take place in a peaceful and friendly way. But, in spite of our patience, there has been no response from the other side.

17. In the Jammu and Kashmir state, a significant change took place when the Yuvaraj, who had been functioning as Regent till then, was installed as the elected head of the state, called the Sadr-i-Riyasat.¹⁷ This event had a certain historical importance not only for Kashmir but for the whole of India. It represented a certain trend which in varying degrees is likely to be followed elsewhere. In Kashmir proper, this was celebrated with great popular enthusiasm. In Jammu, however, the Praja Parishad, a local communal organization, closely allied to the communal organizations in the rest of India, has created some trouble. There have been disorderly scenes in some parts of Jammu province and very regrettable

¹⁵ Diwan Chaman Lal (1892-1973) Barrister, founded All India Trade Union Congress, 1920 and served as its President, 1927; member, All India Congress Committee from 1938, member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1924-31, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-48, and Rajya Sabha, 1952-67, Ambassador to Turkey, 1948-50

¹⁶ Diwan Chaman Lal went to Nairobi to assist in the defence of Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Kenya African Union, and five others, who were facing trial for alleged complicity in Mau Mau activities

¹⁷ See ante, p 173

behaviour on the part of Parishad people.¹⁸ The situation will, of course, settle down, because the large majority of people are in favour of the change that has taken place

18 There are two aspects of these disorders in Jammu which have to be kept in mind. The far-reaching land reforms in the state have naturally not pleased some of the old landlord elements and they have joined this agitation against the Government there. In this they are being helped directly by some communal elements in other parts of India. These elements not finding much scope for activity in the other States of India are trying to concentrate on Jammu. In the name of closer association with India, they are acting in a manner which might well imperil that very association. In fact, what they are doing pleases Pakistan very much. One can only come to the conclusion that these communal people whether in Jammu or elsewhere in India, are either totally lacking in sense or deliberately wish to create mischief.

19 The Five Year Plan is gradually taking its final shape. Of course, there is no absolute finality to such a Plan. We hope to place it before Parliament on the 8th of December and to have a debate¹⁹ on it a week later. You will be sent copies of this Plan as soon as it is ready. I am afraid, this will have to be a cyclostyled copy, as printing will take a little time. Now that this great work of preparation is practically over, the other and greater work of giving effect to it has to be undertaken by us with all vigour.

20 You will have noticed that there has been a reduction in the price of sugar.²⁰ Also that while we are keeping up the

18 On 26 November, Premnath Dogra, the Praja Parishad leader, and 14 others were arrested in Jammu for trying to address a meeting in defiance of the Kashmir Defence Rules. A number of arrests took place in Jammu and Udhampur on 3 December for defiance of the ban on processions and meetings.

19 The Lok Sabha debated the report on 15 and 17 December and the Rajya Sabha on 16 and 17 December 1952.

20 On 1 December 1952, reduction in the price of sugar was announced and control on new stock was lifted by the Government.

tull framework of controls in regard to foodgrains at strategic points, certain relaxation and adaptations have been agreed to in various States. There is a needless argument among some doctrinaire advocates of control or decontrol. The approach has to be a much more practical one. But basically I have no doubt that we cannot allow the situation to go out of our control. Subject to that we can relax wherever possible and desirable.

21. There is one matter to which I would like to draw your particular attention India has a wonderful variety of dress, both for men and women, and more especially for women. As I was touring about the North-Eastern Frontier Areas, it struck me how worthwhile it would be for us to have a museum of Indian dresses This would bring home to people this rich variety of India and would teach them much about the various parts of India and the people who live there It should not be difficult to do this if each State helped I would suggest to you, therefore, to help us in making such a collection from your State The Education Ministry of the Central Government, who are in charge of museums, etc., would undertake the setting up of wing of our National Museum for this purpose. This could be done without much delay. I shall be grateful if your Government takes up this matter and corresponds with the Education Ministry on this subject.

22 The question of exodus and migration between India and Pakistan, and more especially in East Bengal and West Bengal, is constantly being referred to Most people who talk about it do not know the facts or the statistics I have sometimes, in these letters, given you some figures of these migrations We have now collected some additional figures which might be of interest to you in giving you some picture of what has been happening.

23 I am not dealing here with the vast movements that took place in 1947 and 1948. These movements practically emptied Western Pakistan of Hindus and Sikhs. A very small number remained there Even of those who remained,

some have continued to come away under pressure of circumstances. At the same time, during those years, a vast number of Muslims left India for Western Pakistan. It is difficult to give even approximate figures of those migrations or of the people who were killed on either side of the new frontier. One may apply either the population test derived from the last census or the data of surveys gathered through Rehabilitation Ministries on either side. Probably, the Muslims who left India for West Pakistan were in excess of the Hindus and Sikhs who came from West Pakistan to India. In Sind a fair number of Hindus continued to live after the partition, but gradually they were also squeezed out. It might be said now that, so far as Hindus are concerned, there are only a few lakhs of scheduled caste people left in Pakistan.

24 Since this emptying of Western Pakistan of Hindus and Sikhs, there was, of course, no occasion for a large-scale movement towards India from Western Pakistan. There has however, since 1950 especially, been a movement of some Muslims from India to Western Pakistan through the Jodhpur-Sind route via Khokhropar. Normally, traffic between India and West Pakistan was controlled by the permit system. But these Muslims going via Khokhropar went without permits to West Pakistan. From January 1952 to the end of September, 53,209 Muslim emigrants went via Khokhropar to Sind in West Pakistan. Most of these probably came from the U.P. In October 1952, upto the 14th, 6,808 went by this route. After that Pakistan became much stricter in allowing entry on the introduction of the passport system. From the 15th October to the end of October, 1,247 went by this route. From the 1st November to the 20th November, 1,203 went via Khokhropar.

25 Coming now to the figures of migrations of travel between Eastern Pakistan and India (Assam, West Bengal and Tripura), we cannot deal with migrants only but with all travellers, chiefly by train. These figures are deceptive because many people go backwards and forwards, when travel is free, as it was between the two Bengals upto the 15th

October. We can, however, take the complete travel figures and find out from them how many more people have gone in one direction. These figures relate to railway travel specially for which we have accurate statistics. We add to them our estimate of people crossing over on foot. In looking at these figures it should always be remembered that they are deceptive because many people have travelled to and from repeatedly.

Grand totals for 1950, 1951 and 1952

East Pakistan into India			India into East Pakistan	
	Hindus	Muslims	Hindus	Muslims
1950	29,73,681	9,30,121	17,41,255	12,20,014
1951	17,20,533	8,64,586	18,68,883	8,52,974
1952	17,05,025	7,98,851	17,72,340	9,04,394
(Upto October)				
	63,99,239	25,93,558	53,82,478	29,77,382
Add into West Bengal 1,30,000			(other than rail routes)	
Add into Tripura 25,000			(by road)	
	65,54,239			

26 These figures indicate that from 1950 onwards upto 15th October an excess of 9.32 lakhs of Hindus came from East Pakistan to India and during the same period an excess of 3.84 lakhs of Muslims went from India to East Pakistan.

27 This does not include the figures for West Pakistan which have been given above separately. Nor do these figures include the numbers of migrations which took place before 1950.

28. You will be interested to learn that the Government of India have decided to nationalize the civil air services of India ²¹

29. I am going to Bombay tomorrow for various functions, more especially the jubilee of the *Dufferin* training ship, and the child welfare conference. I hope to return to Delhi on the 7th just in time to sign the report of the Planning Commission. I shall remain in Delhi probably for the next fortnight till the end of the Parliamentary session which is likely to take place about the 19th of this month. On the 22nd I am going to Travancore-Cochin for three or four days

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. This was announced on 24 November 1952

New Delhi
10 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am sending you a copy of a letter¹ that we have received from our Central Food Technological Research Institute in Mysore. This tells us the result of an experiment in giving distress relief in Madras and Mysore States. You will, no doubt, be interested in the success of this experiment and, if necessity arises, to profit by it. I am quite sure that a scientific approach to our food problem will bear substantial results. Unfortunately, we can only think in terms of people's habits and are afraid of suggesting anything new.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly letters
1 Not printed

New Delhi
19 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have drawn your attention previously to the communal agitations going on in some parts of the country. There is the agitation in Jammu by the Praja Parishad, which used to be known previously as a branch of the R S S ; there is the agitation about East Bengal refugees, and there is the agitation about cow slaughter.

The people at the back of these agitations belong to communal organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh, the R S S , and the Ram Rajya Parishad. Appropriately, Master Tara Singh¹ and his Akali Dal have lined up with them for their particular purpose. In another context, the Akali Dal has lined up with the Communists in Pepsu. There is no principle involved, only a background of hatred of the Government and a desire to create widespread disorder, out of which they hope that something favourable to them might emerge. It is surprising that the Praja Socialist Party should have fallen into this trap and lined up with these communal organizations. It is difficult to see where the socialism comes in here.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. For b fn See Vol 1 , p 299

In Jammu there is an increasing tendency and preparations for violence² In Bengal there is much talk of a challenge being thrown out to Government by hartals and possible attempts to stop movements of goods, etc., to Pakistan by train, steamer or boat This, it is hoped, will develop into a critical communal situation and Muslims might not find it easy to remain where they are Indeed some of the extreme elements talk openly of driving out the Muslims³

Master Tara Singh of the Akali Dal has been delivering very virulent speeches⁴ He is frank at least and constantly talks about "finishing" this person or that person, whatever that might mean

The Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu, if it succeeded, would, instead of bringing about a closer association with India, break up the state and play directly into the hands of Pakistan It is astonishing how irresponsibly these communal groups are behaving and how the Praja Socialist Party is following meekly in their trail

I am writing to you on the basis of reliable information so that you may know the developments that are taking place and be prepared for them

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

² There were reports of police firing on two occasions when violence broke out in Jammu city and other places in the vicinity between 26 November and 8 December The Praja Parishad volunteers were reported to have helped several landlords to forcibly occupy the land which they had earlier parted with under the land reform scheme. Money, arms and ammunition were also believed to have been collected in Delhi and Punjab

³ The East Bengal Minority Rights Council was reported to have made such a statement.

⁴ For instance, Master Tara Singh, speaking at Jalandhar on 1st and at Amritsar on 7th and 10th December, had described the Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu as a fight for freedom

New Delhi
19 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

You must have followed the development of the situation in Andhra. Independently of the recent riots there we had come to the conclusion that some further step, on the lines we had previously indicated, was necessary and that any delay would be harmful. Then came Shri Srimamulu's¹ death and the disturbances.² In spite of this, we decided to proceed as planned. I am making a statement in Parliament today,³ a copy of which I enclose.⁴

The formation of the Andhra State has become inevitable and we must face upto it and do it in as good a manner as possible. I have little doubt, however, that this will mean a

* A special letter addressed to all Chief Ministers except the Chief Minister of Pepsu and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state.

1 Potluri Srimamulu (1901-1952) Congress worker from Andhra, undertook fast unto death from 19 October for the creation of a separate Andhra State and died on 15 December 1952.

2 Potluri Srimamulu's death touched off a series of violent demonstrations and hartals spread over the 11 Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras State. Besides serious damage to Government property and private buildings, twelve persons lost their lives and over 20 were injured when police resorted to firing at three places to disperse violent crowds.

3 Nehru announced in the House of the People on 19 December that the Government had decided to establish an Andhra State consisting of the Telugu-speaking areas of the Madras State, but excluding the city of Madras. The Government also appointed K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court, to examine and report by the end of January 1953 on the financial and other implications of the Government's decision.

4 For the text see *Parliamentary Debates* (House of the People), Vol IV, Part I, (16th December to 20th December 1952), pp. 1864-1866.

heavy burden on this new State and they will have to face all manner of difficulties. That is unfortunate, but it cannot be helped

I am writing to-you specially to draw your attention to something which must have occurred to you. The decision to establish the Andhra State will, no doubt, open out the questions relating to other demands about linguistic provinces. We shall have to consider them and it would not be wise to wait till circumstances force our hands. I am at present indicating how or when this should be done. But all of us must give thought to it in a realistic way. When we meet, we might discuss this. The question is bound to be raised at the Hyderabad Congress.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

⁵ The fifty-eighth session of the Indian National Congress was held at Hyderabad from 15 to 18 January 1953

New Delhi
21 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

I do not know if you are going to attend the Hyderabad session of the Congress. Some Chief Ministers will undoubtedly come and they will be very welcome.

I am writing to you about the staff that might accompany you if you go there, or if any other Minister of your Cabinet goes there. I do not think that it is fair or desirable for the burden of providing board and lodging for the staff to fall on the reception committee. Some other arrangement should be made for the staff. The reception committee will no doubt help in doing this, but the expenditure should not fall on the reception committee. I shall be grateful if you could draw the attention of such of your Ministers as might be thinking of going to Hyderabad to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

New Delhi
22 December, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I have delayed writing to you because these past days have been heavy with work and engagements. These were the last days of this session of Parliament. The House of the People adjourned day before yesterday and the Council of States is likely to do so today. Ministers here have to function in both the Houses. This puts an additional burden on them.

2 This relatively short session of Parliament did substantial work and many important problems were discussed. The most important discussion was that on the Five Year Plan. By approving of it in Parliament,¹ we have given the final seal to this Plan and now the time comes to implement it. It is true that implementation has been going on all the time and nearly two years out of the five are over. Nevertheless, we have to make a new approach now, a more positive, concentrated and integrated one. More particularly, we have to rely on public co-operation.

3 On the State Government lies a special responsibility in this respect and we have no interval to rest before we start on the next stage of the journey. There is no resting place for any of us who are in positions of responsibility, for the world and India move on and if we delay, we are likely to be left behind.

4 The first thing to be done is to give the widest publicity

¹ By the Rajya Sabha on the 18th and the Lok Sabha on the 19th November 1952

to this Plan or to its essential features and its basic outlook.² The Planning Commission hope to provide you with adequate material for this, but we should not wait even for that. There is material enough in the printed summary that they have produced and we must remember that the best approach still in India is the personal one, through public meeting or group discussion. Now that Parliament and most of our State Assemblies are not in session, members should go to their constituencies and make an intensive drive on the subject of the Five Year Plan. Unfortunately and rather unreasonably, most of the Opposition groups have criticized or even condemned the Plan.³ They have often done so for entirely contradictory reasons, the same person criticizing it for not going far enough and for going too far, having regard to our resources. The responsibility of those who believe in the Plan is thus all the greater.

5 People in the States and in districts will naturally be interested chiefly in their own part of this Plan and what they can do. This part should be explained, but the approach should always be an all-India approach and an attempt should be made to explain this great conception of planning for the whole country. Behind the Plan lies the conception of India's unity and of a mighty co-operative effort of all the people of India. That should always be stressed and the inter-relation of one part of India with

2 The Plan envisaged a total outlay of Rs 2,069 crores during 1951-56 on development, mainly in the public sector. It accorded the highest priority to agriculture including irrigation and power projects. The significance of the outlay on development was that it was expected to provide adequate infrastructure to meet future requirements of development.

3 The Plan was severely criticized by the Opposition in both Houses for what was said to be its basic failure to satisfy fundamental needs that is food, clothing and health and for its being "only a party plan" intended to achieve "the betterment of the urban areas" at the expense of the rural poor whose burdens of rent, taxation and indebtedness would not be reduced.

another pointed out. If we adopt this approach, we shall be dealing with the major disease or weakness of India, i.e., the fissiparous tendencies and parochial outlook that often confront us in this country. The more we think of this balanced picture of the whole of India and of its many-sided activities, which are so interrelated with one another, the less we are likely to go astray in the crooked paths of provincialism, communalism, casteism and all other disruptive and disintegrating tendencies. That is a hard task, for it means changing the mentality of large numbers of people. It is a task which will not be completed within these three remaining years of the Plan, but will have to be continued till we root out and put an end to these tendencies.

6 After a long static period, India became dynamic again. That dynamism took a political shape to begin with, though always behind it was the economic problem. We succeeded on the political plane and now have to face the economic and the social problems. *Inquilab Zindabad*; we cried often enough. That revolution is only partly a political one. The real revolution deals with economic and social problems also. To some extent, it is widely realized that economic changes on a major scale are necessary, but it is still not adequately realized that social changes are also an essential part of the revolution that we have to pass through.

7 The Plan is comprehensive and there lies a tremendous deal of thought and discussion behind it. It is, on the whole, a cautious Plan, even a moderate one, and yet it is far-reaching and, if we so will it, we can take it as far as we like. It is a challenge to all of us and in the measure that we meet that challenge, we build the new India and justify our work. We have, therefore, to take this up in all earnestness and try to infuse in our work something of the spirit of a missionary for a cause. We have to remember always that it is not merely the governmental machinery that counts in this, but even more so the enthusiasm and co-operation of the people. Our people must have the sensation of partnership in a mighty enterprise, of being fellow-travellers towards the next goal.

that they and we have set before us. The Plan may be, and has to be, based on the calculations of economists, statisticians and the like, but figures and statistics, very important as they are, do not give life to the scheme. That breath of life comes in other ways, and it is for us now to make this Plan, which is enshrined in cold print, something living, vital and dynamic, which captures the imagination of our people

8 Some people say that there is no enthusiasm among the people, that they are passive and inert. This is partly true, but only partly so. My own impression is that those who feel enthusiastic themselves convey that enthusiasm to others, while those who themselves have no faith cannot make others have faith or enthusiasm. If we look after ourselves and our work, others will also come up to the mark.

9 You will have learnt about our decision to form a separate Andhra Province.⁴ The decision in fact had been taken long ago, and it was only a lack of agreement among the parties concerned that delayed its implementation. Andhra had to be a province. I have little doubt that this decision will open out other demands for linguistic provinces and we shall have to face them realistically. And yet, I must confess to a feeling of regret that we are going along these lines. How far they will take us, I do not know. Nor do I know how far they might affect the implementation of the Five Year Plan. A new State, wherever it is formed, has immediately to direct its attention to all manner of things and it has to face financial burdens. All this must weaken its capacity, for the time being at least, to go ahead with planned development.

10 You are aware that various opposition groups in India, most of them communal, are carrying on agitation along three lines—the problem of the East Bengal refugees, cow-

4 Nehru announced the decision in Parliament on 19 December 1952.

slaughter,⁵ and Jammu.⁶ These are entirely different from one another, and yet behind them lies the same communal and narrow approach and the desire to break up the present Government of India by violence, if necessary. All of us sympathize with the East Bengal refugees and we should do our best for them. We want to protect and improve our cattle. We should like to remove such legitimate grievances as exist in Jammu. But the manner and objective of these agitations is something entirely different and has little to do with the merits of each case. It is the reactionary and communal element again trying to come to the front and feverishly attempting to find out any method, good or bad, which offers it a chance of doing so.

11 The Jammu agitation is significant. Any person with intelligence can see that it can only result in weakening India's position in Jammu and Kashmir state and in encouraging Pakistan. And yet, in the name of greater unity and integration and by the misuse of our national flag, the real objective is covered up. If the Jammu agitation succeeded, it would endanger not only the cause of the state but of the whole of India.

12. The Pakistan press is again loudly shouting for war⁷ because we are not accepting Mr. Zafrullah Khan's latest

5 On 30 November about 500 volunteers of the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh took out a procession in Nagpur demanding a ban on cow-slaughter, and on 1 December a memorandum demanding a ban on cow-slaughter was handed over to the Governor of the Punjab

6 The Praja Parishad's agitation demanding the state's complete accession and merger with India had continued, and at Chhamb in Jammu district on 14 December the police opened fire on a violent mob when it tried to hoist the Parishad's flag on tehsil and police buildings

7 For example, *Dawn* of 19 December 1952 commented that if the Security Council did not act, Pakistan would have to turn to history for an alternative "In other words, failure of the Security Council to act this time can only drive this country to war"

proposals⁸ which are even further removed from our basic opposition to Dr Graham's suggestions.⁹ We have thus to face this grave situation and, at this moment, the Praja Parishad people in Jammu, who are none other than the old R S S. people there, are trying to weaken the structure of the state

13 You must have followed the fate of our Korean resolution in the United Nations ¹⁰ We have failed in spite of our best efforts The only consolation we have is that perhaps if we had not tried at all, the consequences might have been worse A resolution might have been passed by the U N Assembly which would have worsened the situation We have exercised a certain check on this and we have definitely brought out how anxious for some kind of a peaceful settlement the great majority of the United Nations are That, however, does not take us far and all we can do is to wait and see A few days ago there was a conflict in a prison camp in Korea as a result of which a large number of

8 On 16 December, Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, announced his Government's willingness to accept the latest Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir and proposed that the talks be held within the framework of Graham's fresh proposals He suggested that Pakistan would agree to 28,000 Indian troops being left in Kashmir at the end of demilitarization if the 'Azad Kashmir' forces were left intact on the Pakistani side of the ceasefire line

9 Describing the latest proposals of Zafrullah Khan as far worse than most other suggestions India had had to consider so far, Nehru said on 20 December that in view of the presence of the so-called 'Azad Forces' numbering about 20,000 to 30,000 troops which without doubt were part of the Pakistani Army, only "the unwary and those who do not know the facts of the case" could be taken in by these proposals

10 On 14 December, the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, informed Lester Pearson, President of the U N General Assembly, that China had formally rejected the Indian peace resolution on Korea He said that "this illegal resolution, stripped of its disguise, is actually nothing but a revamped version of the 21-nation proposal submitted by Dean Acheson to the Political Committee of the General Assembly on 24 October "

prisoners of war were killed ¹¹ This shows how very bad the situation is.

14 Obviously, the failure of the resolution was not due to an argument about the phrasing of a sentence or two. There are basic causes which come in the way of a settlement. Generally speaking, it might be said that China and North Korea are in a more advantageous military position in Korea and therefore are not very anxious for a settlement at present. It can also be surmised that the Soviet Union is quite happy at the existing state of affairs and would not like to encourage any settlement except under its own auspices. On the American side there are many viewpoints. An important one, represented by the military hierarchy, proceeds on the line that it is premature from the point of view of the U.S. military and national security to agree to any political truce in Korea at the present stage. If there was a truce, what next? Immediately difficult political problems will come up and no one knows how to solve them. There is also some fear that a truce might create some kind of a slump in America. The great war industries may have to shift over to peaceful production.

15 The result of all this thinking in the U.S. is that there should be a military decision which will force China and North Korea to make a truce on the U.S. terms. Again the idea of a preventive war is occasionally discussed.

16 I might add that Mr. Eisenhower is not by any means a person who likes war. But he is somewhat rigid in his outlook and has had little political experience in the past. He met Vijayalakshmi Pandit and had a long talk with her. He assured her of his friendly feelings towards India and of his desire to have peace. While this is, I believe, true, there is also the rigid outlook which thinks that there can be no firm peace with the Soviet Union and its allies.

¹¹ 87 prisoners were killed and 120 injured when fire was opened to quell a mutiny on 14 December in a Communist prisoners' camp

17 Meanwhile, casualties among the American troops in Korea have been very heavy, though lately there has been a quietening down of the front. These heavy casualties create a powerful impression in the mind of the American public. Constituted as they are, they cannot think of a static position continuing for long. They want peace, but they would rather have war than carry on in the present way. Hence the danger of more serious developments, though I do not think they will come soon.

18 In Egypt some rather significant changes are taking place. The Wafd Party, which had lost importance, appears to be coming up again and Nahas¹² still remains the outstanding political personality in the country. As a result of this, General Nguib is trying to come to some terms with Nahas.¹³ What appeared to be his previous inclination in favour of the communal Moslem Brotherhood is now being replaced by stress on the secular aspect of the State and national solidarity. The minorities in Egypt were feeling somewhat alarmed at the stress on religion in politics as the Moslem Brotherhood was trying to rouse feelings against the minorities, which are 20% of the total population. General Nguib replied to this by a declaration that agitation against the minorities will be considered high treason and dealt with as such.

19 The economic situation in Egypt has deteriorated rapidly. On the political front, General Nguib has scored a success by his agreement with the leaders of the Sudan,¹⁴ but

12 Mustapha Nahas Pasha (1876-1965) Egyptian nationalist leader who became head of the Wafd Party in 1927, served several times as prime minister between 1928 and 1951, resigned as the head of the Wafd Party, 1952.

13 As a token of his desire to win support of all political sections in the country, General Nguib had released prominent political leaders held under detention since September 1952 and invited them along with Nahas Pasha to witness a military parade in Cairo on 6 December 1952.

14 See *ante*, p. 145.

no final settlement of the Sudan issue with the British Government has been arrived at yet although conversations are taking place.

20. We have at present in India goodwill missions from Yugoslavia and Cuba.¹⁵

21 You may have noticed press reports of the bombing by the Pakistan Air Force of certain tribal areas in the North West Frontier Province ¹⁶ Conditions in those tribal areas have not settled down ever since the partition and there has been conflict between those who stand for Pakhtoonistan and the Pakistan Government. It is clear that the Pakistan Government have been unable to deal with this situation satisfactorily and the feeling for Pakhtoonistan is widespread Recent bombings have been on a much bigger scale than those to which we used to object to in British times. This has created a great deal of excitement not only in the tribal areas on this side of the Durand Line, but also on the other side and in the whole of Afghanistan ¹⁷ There is some risk of more war-like developments Meanwhile, it must always be remembered that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan¹⁸ is spending his fifth year in prison.

22 In East Africa, the policy pursued by the British colonial authorities is antagonizing the entire African population and creating a situation which cannot possibly be dealt with by mere repression This repression has been widespread and very severe. The African associations invited

¹⁵ The Cuban goodwill mission arrived in India in the first week of December while a goodwill mission from Yugoslavia led by M R Colakovic, Federal Minister of Education and Culture, arrived in New Delhi in the following week.

¹⁶ The aerial bombing and machine-gunning of the Tirah division by the Pakistani bombers on 9 and 10 December was reported to have killed 34 persons belonging to the Afridi and the Urkzai clans

¹⁷ On 17 December, Afghanistan sent a note to Pakistan protesting against the "aggressive attacks on Pakhtoons "

¹⁸ For b fn see Vol 1, p 279

Diwan Chaman Lal to help them in the defence of some of the cases against them. Diwan Chaman Lal went to Nairobi with a junior lawyer colleague and a secretary.¹⁹ Both his companions were asked to go back to India.

23 The reports we receive from East Africa are very distressing. Unfortunately, the local Indian leaders have not behaved well at all and have angered African opinion. Latterly, there has been some change for the better in the relations between the Africans and the Indians. The Africans, though angry at the attitude of the local Indian leaders, still look to India as a kind of elder brother who will support their legitimate demand for freedom. As a government we cannot intervene in this matter, though we have drawn the attention of the British colonial authorities to the disastrous consequences of the policy they are pursuing.

24 In Bombay State, a remarkable experiment in rice growing has met with great success. This has been adapted from the Japanese method. Indeed, this has gone beyond the stage of experimentation and is being tried widely over the State. The increase in production is amazing. They hope to get 3,500 pounds of paddy per acre in the general agricultural fields and about 6,000 pounds per acre in special experimental plots. The amount of paddy required for seeding purposes is also very much less and does not exceed 8 to 10 pounds per acre, while previously about 50 pounds of paddy was used for seeding purposes per acre. Previous rice production in Bombay State was 800 pounds per acre. The increase, therefore, is tremendous, anything from 300% to 400% or more. If the method was generally adopted, as it should be, it will solve the problem of rice shortage and, indeed, we shall have rice to export. Even the saving of paddy used for seeding purposes amounts to a very big figure running into crores of rupees.

25 This Japanese method consists of what is called 'Raised bed seeding method'. This protects the seedlings from being washed away in case of excessive rains and gives scope for watering them during periods of drought by a limited supply of water through cans. The seedlings can be prepared in a compact area and protected from storms. Transplantation later is not difficult. All this requires no special foreign imported machines or implements or manure. Thus this method can be adopted by our agriculturists without any additional cost or labour. Only care and diligence are necessary.

26 I would particularly draw your attention to this remarkably successful experiment in Bombay. We have begun thinking far too much of big machinery and expensive fertilizers and we send delegations to far countries to learn new methods of cultivation. We may learn something from these new methods, but the Japanese method now used in Bombay has obviously proved itself and can make a vast difference to our food production and to our general economy. I suggest to you to get in touch with the Bombay State on this subject and to send some experts there to study these new methods. They can be immediately implemented in your own areas of rice cultivation with very beneficial results.

27 I am going tomorrow to Travancore-Cochin to open a monazite factory at Alwaye. This is part of our atomic energy work. I intend spending six days in that state and to return to Delhi on the 29th of December via Madras.

I send you all my good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
4 January, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

After sending you my last fortnightly letter, I went to Travancore-Cochin and spent a week there¹ Apart from participating in two important functions—the opening of a monazite processing factory² and starting the construction of a railway link joining north and south Travancore³—I spent two full days in the game sanctuary.⁴ I enjoyed these two days very much in that secluded corner of India and felt a little envious of the wild animals that roamed about those forests. I wish we had more game sanctuaries in India. There are some already, but thus far not very much attention has been paid to them. Some wild animals, more particularly, the lion, have almost ceased to exist in India. There are a few lions still left in a forest in Saurashtra. We should have national parks, where all shooting of wild animals should be prohibited.

2 In Travancore, I saw again their famous boat race, which is an old established community sport. They have a special type of long boats called “snake boats”, which

1. From 23 to 28 December 1952

2 On 24 December, Nehru inaugurated the Indian Rare Earths Factory at Eloor near Alwaye Production, with an annual capacity of 1,500 tons, commenced at the factory in July 1952

3 The Ernakulam-Quilon railway was inaugurated by Nehru on 24 December 1952

4 At the Periyar game sanctuary near Kottayam from 24 to 26 December 1952

accommodate over a hundred persons. Apart from the rowers, some persons stand precariously in the middle of the boat just to encourage others. There is plenty of shouting and excitement, and generally, both the people in the boats and the spectators enjoy themselves greatly. I was glad to encourage this very interesting and worthwhile sport.

3 I passed through the lovely backwaters and canals and saw land being reclaimed from the sea. The people of Travancore-Cochin have not only a much higher standard of education than those in the rest of India, but are industrious. The state is rich in many ways and industry is developing there, especially roundabout Alwaye, where we have started a monazite processing factory. I have no doubt that the state will make rapid progress.

4 On my way back, I spent a few hours in Madras city and found considerable excitement there over the Andhra State issue. On the whole, I believe that our decision has been welcomed, but I was sorry to find some Andhra leaders protesting stoutly against the decision to keep Madras city out of the new Andhra State.⁵ It is perfectly true that the Andhras have had an important share in building up that city and much of their cultural life has centered round it. But it is equally true that Madras city is the intellectual, cultural and nerve-centre of Tamil Nadu. If the Madras State could have continued jointly as now, everyone could have had their own share in it. But unhappily, this was not to be and the people of Andhra Desha felt strongly that they should have their own special province. Where there is such feeling, one should recognize it, for otherwise there is deep frustration and growth of ill will. We have recognized it and the Andhra State will come into existence before long, but I fear this will lead to many difficult problems especially in Andhra, and, to some extent, in the remaining parts of the Madras State.

⁵ T. Prakasam, T. Vishwanatham and some other leaders had protested on 19 and 20 December against the exclusion of the city of Madras from the new Andhra State.

What is still more likely to add to our burdens is the demand for other so-called linguistic States. A blank no cannot be said where feeling is strong. I hope, however, that whatever other steps we might have to take will be after careful consideration. To start one new province will be difficult enough. It is better to wait a little before we take any other next step.

5 I have written to you previously about the organized attempts of certain opposition groups in the country, mainly communal, to create difficult law and order situations. This process is continuing and demands attention from us. There are many legitimate grievances of the people, in Jammu and elsewhere, and we have no right to object to attempts being made to remove them. But I have no doubt that these present agitations are something much more than that. They are essentially attempts by the most reactionary groups in the country to create trouble and disorder so that possibly they might profit by it. The surprising part is that in doing so even these opposition groups do not realize how they are injuring vital national interests as in Jammu. The whole of the Kashmir issue, so difficult and so delicate, is still with us, and yet, right near the ceasefire line, where two armies face each other, these violent agitations are carried on. In Delhi recently, a Jammu Day⁶ was proclaimed and immediately violence was indulged in. A hartal was proclaimed and some shopkeepers were terrorized into closing their shops. Any such situation can of course be dealt with fairly easily from the law and order point of view, but it results in creating a feeling of insecurity and ill will all round and that is a bad background to work in. The Hindu and Sikh communal organizations have joined hands and the politics of both appear to be to aim at disorder. Master Tara Singh, the leader of the Akali Dal, is of course unique in his approach to political or other problems. He has done enough injury to the Sikh cause by his methods

during the last fifteen years or more. Recently, he has made some very extraordinary speeches.⁷ He proclaims that he believes in the two-nation theory,⁸ which has thus far been considered a monopoly of the Muslim League. Thus we have the Hindu and Sikh communalists following the lead of the old Muslim League and not even trying to learn from past experience. Both of them can neither think nor understand the big economic and other problems that confront the country. Their sole objective, apart from creating trouble, is to shout loudly for war with Pakistan. Apparently, they imagine that that will be a solvent for their difficulties. It is our misfortune to have to deal with this medieval thinking and action which trades in the name of religion and tries to rouse the basest passions of the people. Most people do not care to go deeply into these questions and are, therefore, often misled, and yet when these happenings are explained to them in their true context, they understand. We must try to do this.

6 Certain recent developments in the Patiala and East Punjab States Union, known as Pepsu, have deeply distressed me.⁹ This is not because of any changes but

7 At public meetings in Patna, Allahabad, Lucknow and Bhopal between 23 and 30 December, Tara Singh while warning against the impending danger of Pakistan's attack on Kashmir declared that "there could be no peace in India and Pakistan unless the two countries were reunited," because Pakistan "would always treat the Hindu minority as hostages and if they were left at the mercy of the majority community, before long they would be converted to Islam or liquidated."

8 In a speech at Lucknow on 27 December 1952, Tara Singh said that he was "a believer in the two-nation theory and . . . wanted India to retain Kashmir in view of the property left by refugees in Pakistan." He also wanted that "Muslims be turned out of Kashmir."

9 In Pepsu the United Front Party Ministry led by Gian Singh Rarewala, surviving with the support of three Communist members, when faced with a no-confidence motion moved by the Congress in the Assembly, succeeded in gaining a temporary reprieve by winning over four Congress members to its side and by offering ministerships to two among them.

because of the political aspect of it. It is because of the utter lowering of our public standards and the disgraceful way in which people in responsible positions have acted. There is little hope for us if that becomes the standard of behaviour in India. Fortunately, that is not so.

7. Recent political developments in India have brought out curious combinations between different groups. The Akalis support the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh on one side, they support the Communists in another place. The Praja Socialist Party combines with the communal parties over some questions, they side with the Communists in regard to other matters. The Communists indulge in their own rather opportunist tactics. All this seems to indicate a deterioration in political standards and public life among these various groups.

8. In Saurashtra, there has been an anti-sales-tax agitation which has led to a good deal of violence.¹⁰ Here again, we see the petty shopkeeper element joining hands with the communal organizations and even with the Communists. What exactly are the principles on which any of these groups stand? It is difficult to find out. All this indicates a narrowness of mind, a parochial outlook, plus, perhaps, a sense of frustration. Just when we ought to go ahead in a united manner to implement the Five Year Plan, many of these people spend their energy in obstructing others.

9. No fresh developments have taken place in regard to the Korean situation. Marshal Stalin¹¹ made a cryptic offer to

10. The police had to resort to lathi-charge and firing on several occasions, when the agitation organized by the Praja Parishad took a violent turn in Bhavnagar, Savarkundla, Mahuva and Palitana.

11. For further see Vol 1, p. 164.

meet Mr. Eisenhower.¹² To this a cautious reply was given.¹³ Mr Churchill is at present on his way to the United States to meet Mr. Eisenhower.¹⁴ Meanwhile, in Russia and in China, fierce attacks have been made on our resolution on Korea. From such indications as we can obtain, it would appear that the Chinese Government is much closer to the Soviet Union than it was some time ago.

10 Reports of conflicts in the prisoners of war camps in Korea have been alarming.¹⁵ It is difficult for any of us to say who is to blame there, but it is obvious that things are bad there. The Chinese have reacted very violently to these incidents in the prisoners of war camps.¹⁶

11 As you know, we have rejected the Anglo-American resolution on Kashmir.¹⁷ Probably, Dr. Graham will soon ask us formally to have talks with him. We propose to tell him that we cannot have any talks on the basis of that resolution. Further, that no talks are likely to be fruitful unless he accepts some of the basic principles which we have pressed right from the beginning. One of these is that all Pakistan forces of any kind should get out of Kashmir state territory. Probably he will not be able to agree to this and

12 It was made on Christmas Day "in an endeavour to solve the Korean question."

13 While President Truman on 26 December welcomed the offer to reach an agreement, a State Department communique said that the Government "retained its view that until the Soviet Union had shown more evidence of good faith in its foreign policy, a personal meeting between the Chiefs of the two States—U.S. and U.S.S.R.—was more likely to fail than to succeed."

14 Churchill arrived in New York on 5 January 1953 to hold informal talks with both Truman and Eisenhower with a view to "make or renew the friendly contacts" between their countries.

15 During November and December 1952, stray incidents of attempts at escape from the pro-Communist prisoners of war camps were reported.

16 On 22 December, Zhou Enlai conveyed the Chinese protest to Lester Pearson, Chairman of the U.N. Assembly.

17. See *ante*, p. 208.

there will, therefore, be no further talks with him. He will have to report accordingly to the Security Council. I do not know what further steps the U.K. and the U.S.A. might wish to take at that stage or when the matter comes up before the Security Council sometime early in February. I imagine that they do not know themselves. They have got themselves into a difficult position. I have been a little surprised and much pained at the attitude of the U.K. and U.S.A. in this matter. I did not expect them to proceed with their resolution in spite of our strong opposition. I think that this was definitely unfriendly and we propose to make this clear to them.

12 Vijayalakshmi Pandit, on her way back from the United Nations, has been visiting Cairo and Damascus. She has had very cordial welcome. It is evident that the Middle Eastern countries are looking towards India more and more.

13 In East Africa, the situation continues to deteriorate.¹⁸ The U.K. Government has followed the lead given by their own colonial authorities and by the British residents there. The Africans are deeply resentful. I fear that unless the U.K. Government changes its policy, the situation will be very bad indeed. You may have seen that Diwan Chaman Lal, a Member of our Council of States, was invited by some East African organizations to help them in the trial of one of their leaders. He went there and his visit had at least one good result. The Africans were feeling that the local Indians had deserted them and there was much bitterness. With Diwan Chaman Lal's going there, they felt that India had not forgotten them. Diwan Chaman Lal went there not on behalf of the Government but in his private capacity on the invitation of the East African organizations. Pritt,¹⁹ the British Q.C., was also engaged by the defence. All kinds of difficulties were placed in the way of the defence by the

18 On 5 January, the Kenyan Government issued new emergency regulations to check the Mau Mau uprising.

19 Denis Nowell Pritt (1887-1972) British lawyer, Labour M.P., 1935-1940, and Independent M.P., 1940-50, President, British Peace Committee, 1951, winner of Stalin Peace Prize, 1954.

Government. Pritt thereupon sent a cable to some M.Ps in London saying that justice was being denied.²⁰ The Magistrate trying the case considered this telegram a contempt of court.²¹ Pritt's defence was that he had referred to the Government and not to the court. This defence was upheld by the Supreme Court there.²² As a result, Pritt has become very popular, and indeed almost a hero, with the Africans. To some extent, Diwan Chaman Lal has also gained popularity. These East Africans are anxious for the help of India in various ways and it is possible that some of their representatives might come here to consult us

14 In some parts of Bombay State, there are near famine conditions at present. This is more especially so in the Karnataka areas.²³ The Bombay Government is taking energetic steps to meet this situation

15 The Education Ministry of the Government of India decided sometime ago to have a history written of our struggle for freedom. They have now appointed²⁴ a Board of historians and others for this purpose. This Board proposes first of all to collect all available material. This material includes everything that might have a possible bearing on our long struggle. I should like you and your Government to help in collecting this material.

16 The next meeting of Parliament will take place on February 11

²⁰ On 14 December 1952

²¹ Ransley Thacker, the Magistrate, said on 15 December that Pritt had accused the court of being a party to "denial of justice"

²² Pritt denied the magistrate's charge on the same day and on 31 December, the Kenya Supreme Court declared him "not guilty of contempt of court"

²³ The worst-affected areas were the Kolar gold mine area and Pune, Sholapur, Nasik and Ahmadnagar districts. This was described by the Central Famine Investigations Committee as the worst famine in the Deccan region in thirty years

²⁴ On 2 January 1953, a board of editors was set up with Syed Mahmud as chairman.

17. I shall be going on the 13th of January to Bombay and from there to Hyderabad for the Congress session ²⁵ In Bombay I shall perform the opening ceremony of a machine tool factory which we are setting up at Ambernath ²⁶ I am likely to stay in Hyderabad for at least a week I shall thus not be able to send you my next fortnightly letter at the usual time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

25. Held from 14 to 18 January 1953

26 On 13 January 1953

New Delhi
27 January, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I missed writing to you in the middle of the month. I was then away at Hyderabad attending the Congress sessions. On my return on the afternoon of the 20th, I found a mass of work awaiting me, some urgent and requiring very early attention. Then came the preparations for Republic Day and the day itself. That day is now over, but our celebrations in connection with this great anniversary of ours still continue. You will, therefore, forgive me for this lapse on my part.

2 Republic Day was celebrated with the usual parade of Army, Navy and Air Force units as well as the Territorial Army, the National Cadet Corps and the Police. There were also a large number of school children in the procession and a number of tableaux depicting various States in India as well as the Five Year Plan. The parade and the procession were an impressive sight and I think that the vast crowds that witnessed them were heartened by them. Our boys in the Army, Navy and Air Force bore themselves smartly and were cheered. The aircraft that flew over us were timed to perfection, more especially the jet planes that passed by at a great pace. Among the aircraft were some produced recently by the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., at Bangalore. I am not a war-like person and I consider myself a man of peace. But I confess that it gave me pleasure to see the fine bearing and discipline of the youngmen in our defence forces. The boys and girls in the cadet corps also show much promise. I saw them separately also and was delighted with them. I wish that more of our young men and young women in colleges

would join the National Cadet Corps. One new feature in the parade yesterday was a detachment of winter troops, as they are called. They carried their skis with them. I rather doubt if most people who saw them understood what they were or what the skis were meant for. They reminded us of the infinite variety of our country and of the possibility and indeed the actuality of warfare in the snowy regions of the Himalayas. These winter troops had been trained in the snow-fields above Gulmarg in Kashmir.

3 Every year an attempt is made on the civil aspect of this parade and pageant. There was more of this this year, and as you know, we had asked each State to have a representative tableau. All the States did not respond to this, but some did. The quality of these tableaux varied. Perhaps the most striking of them were from Travancore-Cochin, Himachal Pradesh and Orissa. I think that States should pay particular attention to this matter and try to have something really artistic and at the same time representative of their State. This Republic Day parade and procession is something much more than a mere show to amuse people for a while. It is symbolic of our country with its unity and variety. It is a pageant of India which, as it passes before our eyes, evokes strong emotions. It should, therefore, be dignified and artistic. It should really be representative of some aspect of this varied life of India and it should be dynamic in the sense that it looks ahead to the future that we are shaping. In it the past and the present and, to some extent, the future, must be combined.

4 I was particularly happy to see large numbers of school children take part in this memorable parade. They were of all ages from about six or seven to fifteen or so. It was pleasing to see their bright faces and straight limbed bodies, and to think there was the India of tomorrow in the making. I hope that similar processions will be organized in future in all the States.

5. In these parades, we should pay particular attention to the Five Year Plan and all that it signifies. This can be made

a powerful instrument of making our people plan-conscious and progress-minded. Each State can take up a particular type of work it is doing, agricultural or industrial or educational or health and bring that home to the people.

6 Some months ago, after my return from my tour in the North East Frontier Agency, I suggested that we should invite people from various distant parts of India to participate in the Republic Day celebrations. I am glad to say that my suggestion was adopted and more than 500 of these people, mostly tribal folk, have come here as our guests. Some of them are tribal chiefs from our border States, most of them are folk dancers. We are going to have these folk dances during the next two days and they have already attracted a great deal of attention. Indeed the demand is being made that they should stay on a little longer than was intended. I attach great value to this from the national point of view because it makes our people in Delhi more conscious of those of our countrymen who live in distant places, and it makes the latter more conscious of India as a whole. I want to produce in all of them a sensation that all this belongs to them and that they are equal partners in this great country and in our enterprises.

7 During the last month a large number of international conferences and seminars have been held in India—in Bombay,¹ Madras,² Lucknow³ and Delhi.⁴ We have received

1 These included the First International Study Conference on Child Welfare from 5 to 11 December, the Unesco Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education in South Asia and the Pacific between 12 and 23 December, and a meeting of the International Cancer Research Commission from 30 December to 2 January 1953.

2 The Sixth International Conference on Social Work was held from 21 to 27 December 1952.

3 The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches met in Lucknow from 31 December 1952 to 9 January 1953.

4 The Asian Students' Convention, the Unesco Seminar on Status of Women and the Unesco International Seminar on Gandhism were held in New Delhi between 20 December 1952 and 5 January 1953.

many important guests and delegations from other countries ⁵ India draws these people from abroad more and more and indeed, sometimes, it is a little embarrassing for us to have so many at one time. But we welcome them of course because we want them to see India as it is with all its virtues and its failings and we want our people also to come in contact with the wider world. We tend to be narrow in outlook and a dose of fresh air from outside is good for us. These visits of large numbers of foreigners to India and the holding of so many international conferences here, is some evidence of the growing importance of India in the general scheme of things. There can be no doubt that we are important in other people's eyes and there is a realization that India counts today and will count even more tomorrow in the affairs of the world. This is of course pleasing, but I confess that I am not too happy about this rapid increase in India's prestige all over the world. Politically speaking, we rank high in the world and what we say or do counts. But that thrusts additional responsibility upon us. I would have liked to keep free of foreign entanglements so that we might devote ourselves to our tasks at home. But there is no escaping the destiny that must pursue India as an independent country.

8 That destiny is inevitable, but it is a dangerous companion and it makes great demands upon us. If we do not live up to it, we fail and we fail badly, for the standards by which we shall be judged are those dictated by that destiny. There is always a danger of our feeling a little intoxicated by the high position that we are beginning to occupy in political affairs in the world and forgetting that ultimately a country's strength depends upon its economic position and the prosperity of its people. Just as military

⁵ C. R. Attlee arrived on 5 January 1953, goodwill missions came from Japan and Yugoslavia, a press delegation from Iran was in India for a month and the visit of the Indonesian trade delegation was followed by the signing of a trade agreement between the two countries on 31 January 1953.

strength, divorced from strong economic foundations, cannot last and may well be a delusion so also political prestige cannot last long without that basic economic foundation. We come back therefore to the problem of dealing with our economic issues in such a way as to harness all our available energy in order to advance as rapidly as possible. There is the Five Year Plan which has been fashioned after much thought to organize and accelerate that advance. I have no doubt that it is within the framework of that Plan that we must work. That does not mean that we are tied down to it and cannot vary it, if we so choose, or go ahead even faster than it indicates. I think we can do this provided only we as a nation set our minds and hearts to it. Economic strength means greater production of national wealth. It means greater employment in these wealth-producing activities, greater consumption of what we produce. Production and consumption are tied up together just as employment and production must be tied up. I am concerned at some evidence of a lessening of purchasing power in the people. That means lesser capacity to consume and that must become a drag on production. That again would lead to more unemployment and less purchasing power. And so, we get into a vicious circle. If we employ more people gainfully and productively, we not only add to our production, but also add to the purchasing capacity of the people. Each helps the other and thus the wheels of industry go ever faster and faster. The snag is that if we do not take care, there may be a lag between the production and the consumption, or we may be unable to meet the demands of the consumer who has got additional purchasing power. That would lead to inflation, which, unless checked, might completely upset the apple cart in the long run. If we can effectively check inflation, then we can go ahead with some speed in providing more employment and more production.

9. More and more, I think of solving our national problem in terms of employment. Indeed the welfare State, of which we talk so much, must necessarily mean gainful employment for all. We cannot produce this by magic or by

some sleight of hand, but every policy that we pursue must keep the question of employment in the forefront. The welfare State is a partnership of all the people in the benefits as well as the responsibilities of the State and it must create that sensation of partnership also. People who are unemployed not only do not share in the benefits, but can have no sensation of partnership. They cannot be adjusted socially and become a drag on the community and sometimes even worse. It is no good blaming them. The fault lies with the community or with the social structure which the community adopts.

10 So long as we lived in some kind of static economy, and even so long as our minds were directed towards the achievement of independence, social forces were, to some extent, kept in check, but with the attainment of national independence these revolutionary social forces were unleashed. They cannot be ignored or otherwise disposed of so long as they do not find a new equilibrium and the people generally are not much better off economically. It is in terms of these people that we have always to think, both as producers and consumers. Often, our thinking is governed by past habit and the people become an abstract entity, who have to be looked after to some extent, because otherwise they might give trouble, but who are expected to function in their limited and restricted sphere. We hardly think of them as consumers, except of the basic and primary necessity of life. We think of them as some adjuncts in the process of production, playing a minor role in it. That outlook is no longer adequate. Indeed, unless these people have enough consuming power, even our production cannot go far and the rapid progress that we envisage will be checked.

11 Our Five Year Plan envisages an expenditure of over Rs. 2,000 crores. After allowing for some foreign aid, and even for deficit financing upto Rs. 290 crores, we have considerable sum, amounting to Rs. 365 crores which is uncovered by our expectation of the finances available to us during this period. We can hardly get this money from external sources and we cannot possibly allow our Plan to

shrink for lack of money. Thus, we have to face the difficult problem of filling this gap from internal resources, beyond those that we have already taken into consideration. Some part of it may come from taxation, though it is difficult to go far in that direction. If taxation decreases the purchasing power of our people too much, it will act as a drag on production and industrial activity. Therefore, we shall have largely to rely on borrowing internally for productive purposes. We have not had too much success in this in the past, because the old investing public has changed greatly and is partly not in a position to invest as it used to and partly is not in a mood to do it. If any programme of internal borrowing is to be pursued vigorously, we have to address ourselves to the smaller investor who was not taken into consideration previously. We have to give him inducements and add some new appeal other than purely financial.

12 We have recently had a long drawn out agitation in Saurashtra against the sales tax there.⁶ The Saurashtra sales tax is probably the lightest and the simplest of sales tax in any State and yet, curiously enough, this has led to this persistent agitation. I have no doubt that that sales tax is justifiable and necessary. The old states in Saurashtra had a peculiar economy. They subsisted chiefly on their customs revenue derived from the rest of India, and on smuggling. Both these important sources have now dried up and the economy of Saurashtra has been badly hit. Unless something is done to add to its income, it will not be a viable State. These obvious facts are apparently not appreciated by some classes or groups in Saurashtra and they have given much trouble. All this shows that our people have not fully understood the problem before us and there are of course plenty of opposition groups who try to confuse them still further. I think that where an attempt is made to explain fully, that attempt succeeds. We have to take our people into our full confidence and not merely order them about. We

⁶ See *ante*, p. 218

live in a democratic set-up, and unless we gain the goodwill and approval of the people, we cannot carry through any policy

13. The Jammu agitation about which I have written to you previously, is again a remarkable instance of folly or of mischief. A person of ordinary intelligence can see that this agitation must prove harmful to the interests of Jammu and India both and plays into the hands of Pakistan. And yet, outwardly it is carried on in the name of closer union with India. The whole question of Jammu and Kashmir state is, as you know, exceedingly intricate and is tied up today with international affairs. For any organization to start an agitation which must necessarily impinge on these international factors to our disadvantage is the height of unwisdom. And yet certain communal organizations in India, notably the Jan Sangh, the R S S, and the Akali Dal, have thrown their full weight in support of this agitation. It is clear that the objective of these organizations is not confined to Jammu and that they are aiming at bigger quarry. Their dislike of the Government of India and the secular policy that it pursues is so great that, in order to injure it, they are prepared presumably even to do harm to our relationship with Jammu and Kashmir state. You will remember that some months ago, after prolonged talks, we arrived at an agreement with the Jammu and Kashmir Government and this was ratified by Parliament. The purpose of this agitation is to upset that agreement. That is bad from the national point of view as well as the international. To ask for Jammu province to have a closer union with India is to encourage the disruption of the Jammu and Kashmir state with all the evil consequences that must flow from it. Indeed, Jammu province itself might disintegrate. Our position *vis-a-vis* Kashmir Valley inevitably weakens very greatly. Indeed, if that disruption takes place, we have hardly any position left in the valley. Even now, the Jammu agitation is having an adverse effect in the Valley.⁷

⁷ Hartals in several towns in Jammu affected business and normal life

14 But, even apart from the effect on Jammu or Kashmir, this agitation is so basically communal and opposed to our policy that to surrender to it in any way would mean a complete reversal of the all-India policy that we have pursued. So long as the present Government of India is functioning, this cannot happen. Unfortunately, many people do not realize all these consequences. It is true that in a number of matters the Jammu and Kashmir state has a somewhat larger autonomy, by agreement with us, than other states. That is the result of certain historical, political and international factors which cannot be ignored, however much we may wish to do so. The way to a closer union is not by compulsion or by this kind of agitation, which is an attempt at compulsion, but by developing closer association in many ways, other than legal and constitutional, and by a feeling of confidence in and reliance on each other. It is this very feeling that is likely to be shaken by this agitation.

15 The land reforms in the Jammu and Kashmir state have naturally hit the old landlord element hard both in the Valley of Kashmir and in Jammu.⁸ Some people in Jammu have perhaps suffered more because land in the Valley is richer and more fertile than some of the land in Jammu province. Hence a uniform ceiling is somewhat more to the disadvantage of some of these people in Jammu. Then there is the fact of demobilization of part of the Kashmir state forces, as was done in the other old princely states in India. Naturally, this has caused some distress and, I am afraid we, in the Government of India, have been rather slow in dealing with the claims of this demobilized personnel. That is the responsibility of our Defence Ministry and not of the Jammu and Kashmir Government. We are trying to expedite this matter.

16 The basic fact is that under the Maharaja's rule in the Jammu and Kashmir state the people of Jammu had a sensation of being the ruling class in the state. They belonged to the Maharaja's clan. They were taken in the

8 See *ante*, p. 192

army, when no Kashmiri proper, whether Hindu or Muslim, was admitted in the Kashmir state forces. Since the accession of the J&K state to India, this position has changed completely. Jammu is no longer the dominant partner in the state. In theory it is an equal partner, but it may be true that somewhat more attention has been paid to the development of the Kashmir Valley than of Jammu province. That matter can and no doubt will be remedied. The difficulty of course is that of finance. All kinds of unfounded charges are made, such as that Jammu people are not taken into the services. Most people imagine that this means that Hindus are deliberately kept out of the services of the state. This is demonstrably untrue and the number of Hindus occupying responsible position in the state is very considerable. Indeed, apart from some changes, the old services continue. It is true that in Jammu some of the Hindu officials are from the Kashmir Valley. The reason for this previously, as now, was that the Kashmir Hindus were peculiarly adaptable to service and educationally much more advanced. They prospered in other parts of India too including the other princely states. The Jammu people were partly the Rajputs, who looked down on the services and were either the business elements and partly the landlords or in the state forces. Educationally they were generally backward. The changes that have taken place in the J&K state have thus inevitably hit them. This is no fault of the state Government. I might mention that the state militia, which has been raised during the last five years, consists very largely of Jammu people, especially Rajputs. Kashmiris do not take kindly to the profession of arms in any shape. Again, it is interesting to note that since the trouble with Pakistan all trade with Kashmir goes through Jammu. Previously most of this went through the Rawalpindi route. Thus, the Jammu merchants occupy a much more important position now than they did previously. And yet they are among those who shout most in the course of this agitation. Jammu city has grown largely during the last few years and there is a considerable proportion of displaced persons there. There is difficulty of

accommodation and even more so of water supply. There is unemployment. All these are common difficulties in other cities of India and we try our best to deal with them

17. It is probable that the Indian communal organizations will endeavour to create as much trouble as possible when Parliament reopens, and have demonstrations, etc. I am greatly distressed at this exhibition of utter irresponsibility. One can only understand it if one realizes that all this has the larger objective of weakening the Government of India at whatever national cost. We cannot give in to this and we must face these communal developments, wherever they occur, with all our strength.

18. We are going to have another series of talks on the Kashmir issue with Dr. Graham.⁹ We made it perfectly clear that we would not submit in any way to the last resolution passed by the Security Council.¹⁰ Therefore, that resolution has been put on the shelf and bypassed. We shall talk again on the basis of the two resolutions passed by the U.N. Commission in August 1948 and January 1949.¹¹ We have taken a somewhat unusual step to ask Shri G. S. Bajpai, ¹² Governor of Bombay, to act as our representative during these talks. We felt that he ought to go as he was fully acquainted with the previous history of this case and more particularly with the conversations we had with the U.N. Commission when those resolutions were passed. He will, therefore, leave for Geneva, where the talks are going to be held, on February 1. In his place we have requested Shri

⁹ In the discussions held at Geneva between 4 and 18 February 1953, India was represented by G. S. Bajpai and Sir Zafrullah Khan represented Pakistan.

¹⁰ In a reply to Graham on 21 January 1953, India made it clear that she would not shift "from its previous stand and therefore the talks cannot be conducted within the framework of the resolutions passed by the Security Council last month." It was insisted once again that "there should be no soldier of Pakistan army or the so-called 'Azad' forces on the Pakistan-held territory of the Kashmir state when a plebiscite is held."

¹¹ See Vol. 1, pp. 199, 255 and 265.

¹² For bio see Vol. 1, p. 81.

Mangaldas Pakvasa¹³ to undertake the duties of Governor during Shri Bajpai's absence.

19 The Hyderabad session of the Congress was notable in many ways. Outwardly it was very well organized and was an obvious success. It was a success also in other ways and the session exhibited considerable vitality. There were many new and young faces among the delegates. It is rather odd that the Congress is often criticized from two opposite points of view. Some of our critics are never tired of saying that it is on the point of disintegration and that there is no unity of outlook in it. Others repeat that the Congress has no originality or vitality left in it and just says ditto to what Government does. Both of these criticisms cannot obviously be true. The fact is that the Congress, like any vital organization, contains within its fold people with somewhat varying opinions, although there is a basic unity of outlook. Also it is true that the Congress works on the whole in line with the governmental policy. This is inevitable as the Government are controlled by Congressmen.

20 I am sending you separately copies of my presidential address to the Congress¹⁴ and of the resolutions passed there. I would draw your special attention to five of these resolutions. The one on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan contains nothing new, but the fact that we have passed it now has a certain significance.¹⁵ We have avoided doing so in the past, because we felt that this might be exploited by Pakistan to the disadvantage of Badshah Khan. But we felt strongly that

¹³ (1882-1968) Congressman from Gujarat, President, Bombay Legislative Council, 1943-1947, Governor of Madhya Pradesh, 1947-1952, Acting Governor of Bombay 1954-1955, Governor of Mysore, 1959-1961.

¹⁴ In his presidential address on 17 January 1953, Nehru dealt with various aspects of Government's policies and emphasized the need for peaceful relations with Pakistan. He asked the people "to march with good heart and faith in the destiny of our country" and build the new republic "in a more conscious, deliberate and planned way."

¹⁵ The resolution passed on 17 January 1953 expressed concern over the continued incarceration of Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

to remain silent any longer on this continuing outrage was improper

21 The resolution on foreign policy and the world situation is necessarily a repetition of our old basic policy, though it is worded to meet recent developments¹⁶ It is rather extraordinary how some of our critics complain that we go on repeating the same thing When our President addresses Parliament the criticism is made that he has merely repeated what Government has been saying. It is not realized that the President can do nothing else and that he is the mouthpiece of Government So also in the Congress our foreign policy is basic, whatever minor changes it may undergo from time to time The Congress, therefore, has to repeat that basic policy. Of course, a foreign policy, apart from this basic approach, is not a single integrated policy but is really an aggregate of policies *vis-a-vis* a number of other countries. Our general approach is first of all to seek peace and to avoid war. Secondly, to help, in so far as we can, in the ending of colonialism and imperialism or any other form of domination by one country over another. Thirdly, to put an end to racial inequality These are our objectives. We cannot give effect to them because the world is not under our control But we try to do what we can to help somewhat in their realization.

22 We want peace in the world not only because it is obviously good in itself and is essential for any human progress, but also because war will bring terrible consequences in its train. It may destroy modern civilization and put an end to all thought of progress for a long time to come. For us, who are so intent on going ahead and building up new India, it will mean a terrible setback If war comes on a big scale, the result is bound to be bad, regardless of victors

16 The resolution on foreign policy and the world situation adopted on 17 January 1953 demanded that the U N Organization should be made more representative by admitting new States as its members and People's China should be given its rightful place in the world body These were regarded as "essential first steps of grave urgency "

and vanquished War today is something very different from what it was even ten years ago. The atomic and hydrogen bombs have changed all previous conceptions of warfare. If we cannot have a real peace and co-operation between nations in the world, the next best thing is to try to avoid the outbreak of war on a large scale in the hope that this may give the world an opportunity some time later of arriving at peaceful settlements. If again war breaks out, in spite of endeavours to the contrary, then we shall keep out of it and try to keep as many other countries as possible out of it also. It will be some gain if a part of the earth's surface is kept out of this terrific conflict between giants.

23. That is the reason why we have refused to align ourselves with either of the two great power blocs and why we are not agreeable to joining either the Middle East Defence Organization¹⁷ or the South East Asia one.¹⁸ You must have read recently about the possibility of Pakistan joining the former.¹⁹ This has been denied,²⁰ but the terms of denial almost indicate a partial acceptance of the charge.

17 In October 1951, Britain, France, Turkey, and the U S A proposed a plan for defence of the Middle East against Soviet Union. The setting up of the new Allied Middle East Command was supported by Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in November 1951.

18 The plan of the Western Powers to defend South East Asia against "Communist aggression" was formalized by the signing of the South East Asia Defence Treaty on 8 September 1954 at Manila by U S A, U K, France, Pakistan, Philippines and Thailand.

19 Pakistan's membership was considered necessary due to its strategic importance in the Gulf region, military and political potential, and its Islamic identity. On 15 December 1952, the *Washington Post*, quoting official sources in Paris, had reported that the United States and Britain were discussing the possibility of including Pakistan in the proposed Middle East Defence Organization plan. The *Observer* (London) reported that "Pakistan has indicated her willingness to take some part in the defence of the Middle East. At the same time, the U S Air Force is said to be negotiating for bases in Pakistan which would be vital to Middle East Defence."

20 In London on 19 November 1952, Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor-General of Pakistan, denied the reports.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Pakistan Government have been carrying on talks with other Governments in this matter, although they may have not come to any agreement.²¹ Their main difficulty is that public opinion in Pakistan is definitely opposed to it. The Pakistan Government is not a strong Government and is full of internal discord. Probably, if they enter this M.E D.O., they will meet with very stiff opposition in their own country and will also fall out to some extent with the Arab countries. I made some reference to Pakistan joining the M.E D.O. at Hyderabad. I made it clear that it was not our intention to interfere with Pakistan in this matter, but it was obvious that any such development would have far-reaching consequences for us. It would mean that the cold war had come right to our north-western frontiers. If a shooting war started, it would also mean its very near approach to India, because then Pakistan would be involved in it. Any entry of Pakistan into such a pact would affect the present equilibrium in Western Asia and we could not remain indifferent to it. Hence our concern.

24 So far as we know, the Arab countries have no present intention of joining M E D.O. I cannot guarantee what the future may hold, but, in any event, Egypt will not join till its own conflicts and controversies with the U.K. are settled to its satisfaction. Such a settlement does not appear to be near at present.

25 In the past, Indian armies were used to garrison Middle-Eastern countries on behalf of the United Kingdom. If Pakistan joins M E.D.O., an attempt will, no doubt, be made to use Pakistan armies to garrison the Middle East. It is doubtful if this will be welcomed in any of these Arab countries. On the other hand, this pact may lead to foreign bases being established and foreign armies being planted, in the name of defence, in the Middle-Eastern countries as well.

21 Nehru said in Parliament on 30 November 1952 that the various statements although "somewhat contradictory" indicated that "this matter has been under discussion between the Governments of Pakistan and the U S A for some time past."

as perhaps in Pakistan. All this has serious consequences and is a reversal of the process of withdrawal of foreign armies which took place at the end of the last War. It is in fact a going back to some extent to the old colonial times.

26. Another resolution of the Congress to which I would like to draw your attention is that on the Five Year Plan.²² I need not say much about it or stress its importance. The next resolution deals with disapproval of communal activities²³ about which I have already written and which I consider vital. The resolution on the Reorganization of States²⁴ touched on delicate matters which rouse much feeling in certain parts of the country. The Congress resolution was framed after long consultations and debate. The very description of this resolution as one relating to the Reorganization of States emphasizes a different approach to the problem and brings out certain other factors which are as important as a linguistic factor. There is no theoretical objection to such reorganization and to some extent it is bound to come, but we have emphasized that, first of all, it must be preceded by a full consideration of the problem in all its aspects, and, secondly, that it must not upset all our planning and progress or weaken India. Wisdom and expediency both require that we must go slow and for the

22 The resolution passed on 18 January 1953 welcomed "the recommendations in the Plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small scale industries, and the building of the community on co-operative lines." The Congress invited "all the people of the country" to co-operate in "this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up new India."

23 Adopted on 18 January, the resolution reiterated the party's "faith in the way of peace and the methods of persuasion for the solution of outstanding problems, national and international", and condemned the "communal bitterness" roused in the country by some communal organizations, especially "in the affairs of Jammu and Kashmir state, which is fraught with grave evil which can only lead to the disintegration of the state and most unfortunate consequences."

24 The resolution passed on 18 January approved the steps taken by the Government relating to the formation of a separate Andhra state and reaffirmed the policy of the Congress in favour of linguistic provinces.

present at least give a chance to our Five Year Plan. The Andhra State will no doubt come into existence fairly soon²⁵ and yet, even in this relatively simple matter, we are experiencing a great many difficulties.

27 We had a food conference in Delhi which was attended by Food Ministers from the States ²⁶ I was astonished to find that we are still in the habit of making almost impossible demands on the Centre. If these demands represent reality, then indeed the outlook is bleak. We cannot make any progress if this terrible burden of food imports continues. The more we reduce it, the more scope we get for industrial advance. I do hope that each State will realize this vital aspect of the question and reduce its reliance on imports.

28 It may interest you to know that the average daily figures of movement between East and West Bengal for the fortnight ending 31st December 1952 were as follows :—

From East to West Bengal	.	Hindus - 255
		Muslims - 103
From West to East Bengal	.	Hindus - 398
		Muslims - 189

These figures are much smaller than the previous ones, before the passport system was introduced. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a slight excess of people going to East Bengal from West Bengal. The passport regulations are causing a good deal of inconveniences. A conference is going to be held with Pakistan soon to try to remove these inconveniences.

29 General Cariappa, Commander-in-Chief, Army, retired

²⁵ The Andhra State was formally inaugurated by Nehru on 1 October 1953

²⁶ On 8-9 January 1953

after his full term some days ago²⁷ and General Rajendrasinghji²⁸ has been appointed in his place²⁹ Just before General Cariappa's retirement I was happy to go to Ambernath³⁰ to open a fine new factory for machine tools needed for defence

30 The United Nations General Assembly will be meeting again at its adjourned session about the 24th of February We are sending a smaller delegation this time The leader will be, as before, Vijayalakshmi Pandit and the other delegate will be Shri V K Krishna Menon³¹ The principal subjects are likely to be Korea and disarmament It is difficult to say now what attitude we shall have to take up in regard to the Korean impasse We shall have to wait and see Much depends upon the attitude of the new U S Government As for disarmament, we are no doubt all in favour of it, but to discuss it when the world is constantly thinking of preparing for war appears to be artificial in the extreme yet, it is better to discuss these matters than to break up and plunge into war Some people think that certain recent statements by Marshal Stalin indicate that he might take some step towards a peaceful settlement of some of the outstanding problems

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27 On 14 January 1953

28 General Maharaj Rajendrasinghji (1889-1964) Joined the army in 1921, served in Egypt and North Africa, 1941, G O C-in-C, East and South Command, 1948-1953, Chief of Staff, Indian Army, 1953-1955

29 On 15 January 1953

30 On 13 January 1953

31 For b fn see Vol. 1, p. 164

New Delhi
13 February, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

You have often to come to Delhi to attend conferences or for consultations and the like. Your Minister colleagues have also to come here from time to time. Sometimes it has come to my notice that some inconvenience is caused in regard to accommodation or transport. I was sorry to learn this because when you come here on work, it should be our business and pleasure to give you every facility. Many of the Chief Ministers or other Ministers stay with friends in Delhi or have made some other special arrangements, and possibly they would not like their present arrangements to be upset in any way. In any event, we should like to make some arrangements for the convenience of Chief Ministers and other Ministers who come to Delhi on official business in connection with State work.

Our Home Ministry is already making some such arrangements, but before proceeding much further with these arrangements, I should like to know from you if you would like us to provide accommodation or transport for you or your colleagues when you come here. Also what other facilities you would like the Central Government to provide. We can then consider this matter and try to make the necessary arrangements. We should like you to feel at home during your visit to Delhi and not to suffer any inconvenience.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

New Delhi
15 February, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

There has been much reference recently to the agitation in Jammu started by the Praja Parishad there. This agitation has been openly supported by the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad. The R.S.S. has also lent its quiet support to it. Master Tara Singh¹ of the Akali Dal has promised support, though without committing himself too far. Recently, there were separate and prolonged meetings of some of these organizations in Delhi and then a joint meeting.² The resolutions passed³ indicate that an effort might be made in the near future to start an all-India agitation, including what is mistakenly called satyagraha.⁴

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 For b in see Vol 1, p 299

2 The Working Committees of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha both met in early February to discuss the question of their support to the agitation. At joint meetings between the leaders of Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Ram Rajya Parishad, it was resolved to "work unitedly" on the basis of a common programme in support of the Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu. Tara Singh and Gokul Chand Narang were special invitees to these meetings.

3 For example, the Working Committee of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh passed a resolution on 9 February reiterating the party's demand for the release of prisoners in Jammu and declaring that "if the Government continued to remain adamant and chose to rely only on force, it would be the duty of the Jan Sangh to call upon the people to resist the policy of Government in a peaceful and non-violent manner."

4 The civil disobedience movement was launched on 5 March 1953 in support of the demand for total accession of Kashmir to India.

Whether this will be finally done or not, I do not quite know because the leaders of these communal organizations have, I believe, begun to realize that this is a dangerous game and public opinion, by and large, will be against them, quite apart from the steps Government might take. They have been trying, therefore, to find some middle way which would enable them to demonstrate to the public that they have succeeded in some measure and thus add to their prestige. For our part, we would like of course this agitation to end as quickly as possible and for normality to return, but we cannot compromise any vital principle nor can we do anything which merely strengthens communal organizations and enables them to start some other big agitation in the future.

As you must know, the J&K Government appointed a Commission recently under the Presidentship of their Chief Justice⁵ to enquire into economic and like grievances caused by the recent land reforms or otherwise.⁶ All that remains is the highly complicated political and international issue of the state itself. At the present moment, talks about this are going on with Dr. Graham in Geneva. Even apart from this, it is quite absurd for Government to discuss these national and international matters with any non-official agitational group. This whole Praja Parishad agitation has been so singularly misconceived that it injures the very cause which they claim to have at heart, i.e., the closer union of J&K state with India. The only party that has gained by it is Pakistan, who have given full publicity to it. The demand of the Praja Parishad that Jammu and Ladakh should at any rate be fully integrated with India obviously means that they should be

5 Justice Jankinath Wazir (b 1905) Judge, High Court, Jammu and Kashmir, 1937-48, Chief Justice, 1948-67, Chairman, Wazir Commission, 1953, Acting Governor, Jammu and Kashmir, March-May 1967

6 The commission, appointed on 2 February 1953, besides enquiring into the working of the agrarian reforms was also to examine the question of price controls and the progress made in rehabilitation of displaced persons and ex-servicemen

separated from Kashmir proper, i.e., that there should be a disintegration of the state. If this took place, it would inevitably mean that Kashmir proper is made a present of to Pakistan. Then, Ladakh would be almost completely cut off. This whole approach is so utterly wrong that it passes one's comprehension how any intelligent person should adopt it. I can only come to the conclusion that the objective is entirely different and has nothing to do with Jammu.

Indeed, recent speeches delivered by the communal leaders,⁷ which were of an extremely violent and aggressive type, point to the same conclusion. It is a challenge to the Government as a whole and to the basic policies we pursue. To that challenge there can only be one answer.

Recently, the East Punjab Government took strong steps⁸ to prevent the extension of this agitation to their province. These steps have had good results and have been generally approved by the public there.

One of the methods adopted by the Praja Parishad people and their supporters is to carry about in procession some "ashes" which are supposed to be those of some persons shot down in police firing. By this method it is sought to excite people. This was done to some extent in the Punjab till it was prohibited. The Delhi administration has also prohibited this kind of thing⁹ and is otherwise prepared to take any action that might be considered necessary.

7 For example, at a public meeting in New Delhi on 8 February 1953, S. P. Mookerjee, N. C. Chatterjee and Master Tara Singh condemned the Government for suppressing public opinion on the Kashmir issue by misusing the Preventive Detention Act. N. C. Chatterjee said that "the way in which the Jammu Praja Parishad movement was being curbed was reminiscent of British rule." Master Tara Singh, held the Congress "responsible for the present gloomy state of affairs in the country."

8 On 6 February 1953, prominent workers of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the R. S. S., and the Hindu Mahasabha were arrested at several places in Punjab under the Preventive Detention Act. Simultaneously, public meetings and processions were banned in twelve districts for a period of two months.

9 Prohibitory orders were passed in Delhi on 7 February banning processions and public meetings for one month.

15 February, 1953

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I understand that attempts will now be made to take out these "ashes" in procession in some of the north-western U.P. towns and so on

I am writing just to keep you informed, so that your Government might be vigilant and watchful We cannot permit this kind of blatant communal and vicious propaganda to be carried on and to lead to serious law and order situation

Reports have come to me also that some of the communal organizations might make an attempt to create trouble during the *Holi* festival I hope that your Government will instruct the local officers to take necessary steps to prevent any trouble from taking place

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New-Delhi
26 February, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

I must apologize to you for not having sent the usual fortnightly letter I have been terribly busy I hope to send you that letter soon

You must have learnt of the arrest of Master Tara Singh and some of his colleagues for defiance of the law in the Punjab.¹ This was a clear defiance and Government had to take action The situation is well in hand, but naturally all of us should be fully alert

We have to remember at the same time that the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal organizations have not given up the idea of some major agitation in connection with the Praja Parishad's movement in Jammu There has been a slight lull recently But, from all informations received, they intend to begin soon what they have been threatening to do for some time past It is possible that the Akali Dal agitation and this might join hands

I am only writing these few lines to you so that your Government might be vigilant and take all necessary precautions

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 On 24 February, Master Tara Singh and ten other Akali workers were arrested at Amritsar for defying orders on 22 February against holding a public meeting

New Delhi
1 March, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am sending you a note¹ on the tribal people in Manipur. This deals more especially with the Nagas in those areas. The note has been drawn up by an expert² who went there at the instance of the Governor of Assam.³

This note⁴ brings out some of the difficult problems we have to face in these areas. We are apt, too often, to forget that our country has a variety of people who differ from each other greatly and who have often to be dealt with separately. This applies to all tribal people in India, but more

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 Not printed

2 Verrier Elwin (1902-1964) English anthropologist who worked amongst the tribals in Central and North East India and became an Indian citizen in 1954, Deputy Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, 1946-49 and Adviser for Tribal Affairs, N E F A, 1954, member, Scheduled Tribes Commission 1960-61; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1961, wrote *Folk-songs of Chhatisgarh* (1944), *The Religion of an Indian Tribe* (1955), *Myths of North East Frontier* (1958) and *The Tribal World of Verrier Elwin* (1964)

3 Elwin visited Manipur and other areas for six weeks and submitted his report to Jairamdas Doulatram, the Governor of Assam, on 2 January 1953

4 The note while stating that the people desired "a separate state and westernization", attributed the growing conditions of "stress and tension" to the persisting conflict between the Government and the people, the Nagas and the Kukis, the Christians and non-Christians and to the decay of the traditional arts. It suggested that the right kind of officials should be appointed, good literature about India be distributed among the Nagas, and a few sympathetic people be settled amongst them to "strengthen their love of their own culture."

particularly to those in the North-East Frontier, who have hardly had any contact with the political or cultural life of India in the past.

We have, therefore, to proceed not only cautiously in this matter, but with deep understanding and sympathy. Unfortunately, most of us have not given much thought to this matter and we treat these people in the same way as we would treat others. Often we try to impose our ways on them, imagining that we are doing them good. As a matter of fact, we merely alienate them and, at the same time, probably injure them in many ways. They lose their artistic way of life and become drab imitations of something else.

In the North-East Frontier Province, the problem is political also, apart from its social and economic aspect. It requires the most careful, sympathetic and understanding approach. Officers dealing with tribal people should always be very carefully chosen and should have this understanding. They should never try to impose themselves upon them. Their approach should be a friendly one. They should meet them on an equal level and try to participate in their life and their games as much as possible. Only thus can we win them over.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
3 March, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a full month as I missed the middle of the month letter. I am very sorry for these repeated lapses on my part, but work has been very heavy and the passing of a valued colleague,¹ Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, has not only been a blow, but has added to that work. I have been functioning as Defence Minister in addition to my other duties. This is, of course, an unsatisfactory arrangement and cannot and should not last for long. I was anxious, however, to gain some insight into the working of our Defence Ministry and, therefore, decided to have charge of it for some time. The Defence Ministry is one of our most important Ministries. As a matter of fact, I have kept some touch with it right from the beginning, ever since I became the Prime Minister. Not only with the Ministry, but with our senior officers and even occasionally the men in our Army, Navy and Air Force, I have tried to maintain personal contacts. I attached importance to this.

2 During this last month, a great deal has happened and I would have liked to write to you about many of these events, but I can hardly burden this letter with what happened a month ago. Parliament was opened on the 11th February by

1 On 10 February 1953

the President who delivered an address on that occasion.² You must have read that address. It was, necessarily, a prosaic account of events and developments and yet it contained, I think, enough, to make us feel that we were making good progress. As usual, our opponents criticized it³ and referred in eloquent terms to the poverty of India, to the distress in scarcity areas, to unemployment and the like. We are all aware of this and we have to battle against it. But, it seems to me singularly pointless and ineffective to lay continuous stress on this dark side of the picture in India and perhaps to expect some magic change. Nations do not progress by magical leaps. They have to build themselves up by their labours and the speed of that building up depends on many factors, chiefly the resources at our disposal and the energy and enthusiasm we put into our work. These resources have been carefully considered by the Planning Commission. Possibly, we might organize them better. Let us consider that by all means. But we cannot produce something like a juggler, out of nothing. So far as the energy and enthusiasm are concerned, our opponents and sometimes even our friends are never tired of bewailing the lack of them in the country and thus helping actively in producing an atmosphere of depression and frustration. I suppose each person is apt to find outside what he has inside himself.

2 The President expressed concern over the recent developments in Korea and in South and East Africa and welcomed India's attempts to maintain close and friendly relations with her neighbours. On internal matters, the President, while expressing satisfaction at the "all-round general progress" made by the country towards the goal of a welfare State, showed concern over the growing number of the unemployed and partially employed in the country and on the growth of parochial tendencies as witnessed in Jammu. The address also touched upon subjects like the formation of the Andhra State, people's involvement in the Five Year Plan, the improved food situation in the country, the nationalization of the air services and the work done by the Finance Commission.

3 The President's address was debated in Parliament between 13 and 16 February 1953.

3 I am very conscious of the difficulties we have to face, but I am equally conscious of the progress we are making. In a great country like India, one can pick out what one likes, both of good and ill. But I think there is little doubt that we are going ahead and laying strong foundations for future progress at a more rapid pace. Indeed, I am often filled with a sense of excitement at the things we are doing all over the country. The reports that reach me also point out to the fact that there is a fair degree of enthusiasm in our people. I should like it to be greater and less spasmodic, but it is there where work is done.

4. Recently, I went to the Damodar Valley to open the Tilaiya dam and the Bokaro thermal power station.⁴ I also saw the other great dams built there. The sight of those works filled me, as it did others who were present, with a sense of great achievement. They are mighty works of which any country can be proud. And yet, how many of us, including our legislators, realize the greatness of these undertakings and what India is building today for the future? All our attention is directed to criticism about relatively petty matters. We do not see the wood for the trees.

5 It is no good my complaining, because it is our fault if we cannot put across to our people the magnitude of the work that is being done in India at present. The Planning Commission brings out some material which is usually bulky and heavy. I hope they will come out with something lighter and more easily read. I am anxious that we should reach our people in the villages as well as in the towns with some kind of a record of the work that has been done and that is going to be done. Ultimately, what counts is the approach to our rural millions. I have come to feel more and more that that approach should be visual and through documentary films. These will go much further and will create a much more vivid impression on our people than pamphlets and the like, though the latter are also necessary. We have not

⁴ On 21 February 1953

explored this avenue enough, although it is the obvious method of approach even in a literate community and much more so among people who are largely illiterate. I think our Films Division of the Central Government, our Planning Commission and our State Governments, should co-operate in putting about the numerous developmental activities that are going on all over the country. This will include not only great works like the Damodar Valley, Bhakra Nangal, Hirakud, etc., but also the community projects and the numerous smaller projects and instances of voluntary labour and the like in building canals, wells, roads, etc. It is not enough to give just a glimpse of something being done. It should be a longer and more educative picture and it should be taken in mobile vans to remote villages. Of course, it should be shown in our cinemas also, but I attach more importance to the approach to the villages. We should definitely aim now at educating our village folk through films. By this means also, we shall produce that understanding and enthusiasm that we wish to develop, and, at the same time, a certain unity of outlook in our national planning.

6. More and more it is being realized in other parts of the world that we in India are engaged in a mighty adventure. To build up this country and to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment in a democratic way on this scale is something that has not been done anywhere. The magnitude of the task and the difficulties we have to overcome may sometimes oppress us, but, at the same time, they should fill us with the enthusiasm that great undertakings bring with them. Probably the next five to ten years are the critical years for us. If we carry on during this period as a stable, progressive country, making good and advancing, then we have succeeded and we have little to fear in the future. Even if the pace is not quite so fast as we would like it to be, the mere fact of continuous progress on a stable basis would be a triumph for large-scale democratic working. There is danger in our becoming static and slow-moving; there is equally danger in trying to go faster than circum-

stances or our resources permit us to do. The middle course, the golden mean is always difficult.

7 We have set before us the ideal of the welfare State. The President referred to this in his address. The welfare State means welfare for all and not for a section of the community only. It means productive and gainful employment for all and the removal of the grave disparities in incomes and methods of living that exist in India today. We get used to these, but every foreigner who comes here is struck even now by these great disparities. How are we to get rid of them? Some of our friends suggest, as if that was some magic remedy, nationalization all round or a reduction of higher salaries, etc. Except for a few, salaries are not high in India now. Where possible, we should try to reduce them. But merely to distribute poverty does not mean progress. In order to go ahead, we have to try to maintain some standards somewhere. That does not mean affluence for some and poverty for the rest, still less does it mean vulgar display which unfortunately is still rather common with a few of our people. As for nationalization, the real test is how far this adds to our productive capacity as well as to the smoother working of our Plan. Mere nationalization does not add to that productive capacity much, if at all. It might indeed mean a lessening of it. At the most it means a transfer of ownership with the same production and the available resources being utilized for compensation. It is far better to use our resources for new State enterprises, leaving the old ones to carry on as they are, subject to some kind of control by the State. Thus production grows and the public sector grows till it becomes the dominant sector.

8 The problems of today in India or elsewhere cannot be solved by some purely academic approach or by a dogmatic creed of yesterday. Most of us, I suppose, believe in a socialistic approach and in socialistic ideals. But when these are thought of in terms of some rigid formulae, developed in Europe in the nineteenth century, they need not necessarily apply to India in the middle of the twentieth century. Even

economic science is not so static and conditions have changed greatly

9. Thus far we see a full-blooded socialism, if that is the right term, working in Communist countries, together with an accompaniment of authoritarian control and an absence of the democratic approach. That is, practically everything is State-controlled and that develops bureaucracy in an extreme measure, apart from suppressing individual freedom. Certain economic results are undoubtedly obtained that way, but the price paid is heavy. In other countries which aim at socialism, though of a different variety, inevitably, there is some kind of a mixed economy, though the quality of the mixture may vary. Indeed, I am inclined to think that in a democratic society, a so-called mixed economy is inevitable, though the public sector may grow and be the dominant partner. The private sector however will continue to have an important place, but the major industries would tend to be in the public sector. We have laid down that in a planned economy the private sector has to conform to the national plan and therefore has to be controlled to some extent. That appears to be obvious if we are to have any planning. But this leads to a difficulty. The private sector has a different outlook and approach and cannot easily function if there is too much control. It thus ceases to have the advantages attaching to the public sector as well as to the private sector. The other day some industrialists came to see me and said that they would be very happy to co-operate fully with the Five Year Plan. But it was becoming increasingly difficult for them to function effectively with so many restrictions and controls. It was better they said, that an industry was taken over by the public sector completely than left in a hamstrung condition in the private sector. These people exaggerated somewhat, but I think there was some truth in what they said. It is better to take over an industry in the public sector and organize it as such and to allow the industries left to the private sector some freedom of movement, subject of course to some basic

considerations I am mentioning these matters to you so that we might give thought to them

10. As for our resources, it is clear that we have to depend essentially on our country and our own people. We can welcome help from abroad, but it cannot take us far. I have a feeling that we have enough in this country provided we can reach it. The difficulty is that it is spread out and not easily accessible. We have, of course, the small savings scheme and this is important and should be encouraged. But perhaps some additional approach would bring in larger resources at our disposal. If we had a large number of rural banks, they would not only serve as agencies for giving credit to the farmer, and thus replacing the old *bania*, but they would also attract small pools of money which, in the aggregate, may amount to a very big sum.

11. I should like to draw your attention to one aspect which somewhat distresses me. We appear to be forgetting the old *swadeshi* urge. Many of us, who have been bred up in the *swadeshi* tradition and have been taught to avoid foreign goods, are rather upset at the absence of this spirit of *swadeshi* in our people at present. Officially we restrict our imports, etc., but the whole psychology of our people appears to have changed or to have become passive in this matter. I think we should encourage the *swadeshi* spirit actively.

12. Parliament is going on from day to day and is now considering the budget.⁵ Our budgets are likely to be more and more in line with the Five Year Plan and, therefore, nothing very new or extraordinary is likely to happen in regard to them. I hope you will agree with me that, considering everything, the budget is satisfactory and reveals a progressive economy. Nevertheless, the financial resources at our disposal grow less and we have to be very careful in the future. State Governments ask us for grants and loans and

5 The railway and general budgets were presented to Parliament on 18 and 27 February and the Finance Bill was passed on 18 April 1953.

subsidies I realize that their need is often great. But where are these grants and loans, etc., to come from? We have to tighten our belts everywhere. In particular, we must concentrate on solving the food problem and reducing our food imports to nil.

13 I have written to you repeatedly at some length about the Jammu Praja Parishad agitation. Much was said about this in the course of the debates in Parliament on the President's Address.⁶ There has been a slight lull in this agitation, but this should not mislead us or make us complacent. Unfortunately, the Praja Parishad people and their sympathizers in the communal organizations in India feel that they have gone too far to withdraw and they still continue to think of giving trouble in a big way. I cannot imagine a greater folly or anything more harmful from the national as well as international points of view than this Jammu agitation. It is a symbol of that extremely narrow-minded and bigoted outlook which has been the curse of our country in the past. If this agitation is resumed in a big way anywhere, we shall have to meet it with our full force because we cannot submit to this kind of thing.

14. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, was arrested by the East Punjab Government some days ago for disobedience of an order under Section 144.⁷ An attempt is being made to rouse up the Sikhs on the plea of interference with their religious ceremonies. As a matter of fact, the District Magistrate was agreeable to giving permission for the particular meeting provided an assurance was given that it

6 While Congress members feared that the Praja Parishad agitation portended danger for the state and the country, Opposition members like H. N. Kunzru, Acharya Narendra Datta, N. B. Khare and Nandlal Sharma characterized as repressive the Government measures to deal with the situation. When N. C. Chatterjee said that "Praja Parishad is fighting Muslim communalism in Jammu", Nehru retorted that "the agitation was being exploited by people with a communal outlook", and declared that its net effect would be to "give aid and comfort to the enemies of India."

7. See ante, p. 246.

would deal with religious matters only. No such assurance was given so he refused permission.

15. In Pepsu, an extraordinary situation has arisen. Since the general election, the parties in the local Assembly have been rather evenly balanced and there have been some individuals there who are apparently always prepared to offer themselves to the highest bidder. Public life in the Pepsu has been a nasty affair. Recently a number of Members of the Assembly have been unseated by the election tribunals and a large number of election petitions are still pending. It is expected that out of sixty Members, twenty-five might be unseated. Among those unseated is the Chief Minister himself as well as some other Ministers. In these circumstances, it is obvious that the Chief Minister and other unseated Ministers cannot continue in their offices.⁸ To have twenty-five bye-elections and then possibly to have to face instability still in Government hardly appears desirable. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that there should be general elections in Pepsu⁹ and we hope they will result in some party emerging with a majority. This means President's rule for the period before the new elections.¹⁰ This has nothing to do with showing favour or disfavour to any party or group. It is the natural consequence of the present impasse. But no doubt it will be criticized as if it was meant to discriminate against a Sikh Ministry. This is completely untrue.

16. The Andhra State question is before us with Justice Wanchoo's report.¹¹ This report has not been published yet. But there is a great deal of excitement and speculation in Madras and elsewhere in regard to some of the issues,

⁸ The non-Congress Ministry headed by G S Rarewala resigned on 1 March 1953

⁹ The elections were held in February 1954

¹⁰ President's rule was imposed in Pepsu on 5 March 1953

¹¹ The report was submitted to the Union Home Minister on 7 February 1953

notably the capital issue. We hope to come to a decision about this matter in the course of the next two or three weeks.

17. Early in February there was the usual annual conference of Governors and Rajpramukhs. This is becoming a very interesting meeting where discussions are useful and helpful.¹²

18. In foreign affairs, there has been no positive development and yet the sense of apprehension has grown. This is largely due to certain announcements made by the new administration in the U.S.A., more particularly the one relating to Formosa and China.¹³ As soon as this announcement was made, many people thought that it would result in an extension of war in the Far East.¹⁴ The chance of this happening in the near future is not great, but the apprehension continues because of various statements continually being made in America, among them being a proposal to blockade China.¹⁵ The new administration in the U.S.A. has not come out clearly with its policy. All that

12. The conference held discussions on 4 and 5 February 1953 on problems of law and order in various States, the linguistic reorganization of States, the Five Year Plan with special reference to its financial and administrative aspects, the community development projects, the system of education in the country, and the East Asian policy of the United States.

13. President Eisenhower announced on 2 February the ending of the neutralization of Taiwan by withdrawal of the U.S. Seventh Fleet which since June 1950 had been protecting Taiwan and preventing its use as a base for operations against People's China.

14. It was feared that the withdrawal of the Seventh Fleet would encourage the Chinese Nationalist forces to open a second front on the mainland, thus enlarging the conflict in Asia.

15. On 6 February, a Republican Conference called for a full naval blockade of People's China and believed that President Eisenhower was considering such a step. The press reported examination, in official circles, of the possibility of complete naval blockade of China and an atomic attack on her.

we know is that it has a certain bent of mind¹⁶ which does not take us towards peace. The General Assembly of the U.N. is meeting now again¹⁷ and nobody there seems to know what to do with Korea

19. In Egypt, General Neguib scored an outstanding victory in settling the Sudan question by an agreement with the United Kingdom,¹⁸ as well as with the Sudanese leaders.¹⁹ In the course of the next four months, it is proposed to have elections in the Sudan.²⁰ Our Election Commissioner, Shri Sukumar Sen,²¹ has been lent by us to the Egyptian Government for this purpose. He will be the Chairman of the Election Commission there.²²

16 Summing up his Government's approach, Eisenhower said. "we have learned that the free world cannot indefinitely remain in the posture of paralysed tension, leaving forever to the aggressor the choice of time and place and means to cause the greatest hurt to us at least cost to himself "

17 On 24 February 1953

18 Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, in progress since 20 November 1952, ended in an agreement on 12 February 1953, which incorporated the Egyptian proposals to form a Governor-General's Commission, an electoral commission and a Sudanization Committee, and hold elections under the supervision of a neutral power.

19 See *ante*, p 145.

20 The elections took place in November and December 1953

21 For b fn see Vol 2, p 55.

22 He was nominated on 21 February to serve on the election commission in the Sudan

20. In Iran, politics resemble more and more some kind of a comic opera. There appears now to be a conflict²³ between Premier Mossadeq and the Shah.²⁴ Meanwhile, all the outstanding questions there remain unsolved.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23 Serious differences developed in January 1953 between the Majlis and the Government when Mossadeq sought extension of his plenary powers for another year. Differences between him and the Shah also became acute following the Government's decision to impose a tax on the royal estate and on the Shah's alleged involvement in security matters and his links with the Government's opponents. Clashes took place on 1 and 2 March between the supporters of the rival groups when the Shah's leaving the country on health grounds was suspected by his supporters to have been forced on him by the Government. Later, a committee of eight deputies was appointed by the Majlis to effect a reconciliation between Mossadeq and the Shah.

24 Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980) Succeeded to the throne of Iran on the abdication of his father, Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1941, crowned himself on 26 October 1967, fled the country with his family in 1979 and died in Egypt on 27 July 1980.

New Delhi
18 March, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

The time of the House of the People is being taken up almost entirely by debates on budget grants. These debates enable the House to discuss almost every aspect of the policy. It is not possible to discuss every budget head of every Ministry adequately. We have made a slight innovation this year and have decided to discuss only certain Ministries and leave out others. This gives more time for a proper discussion. The idea is that different Ministries might be taken in successive years and adequate time allotted to each discussion. Only a beginning has been made in this direction this year. I think it would be a good thing if provincial legislatures adopted the same practice, that is, concentrating discussion each year on some aspects of the administration and not all.

2. For the last two days, we had a debate on the External Affairs Ministry. Foreign affairs had been discussed a month earlier at the time of the debate on the President's Address. It seems to me that our Parliament spends more time in discussing foreign affairs than perhaps any Parliament elsewhere. That is all to the good, provided major policies and important matters are discussed. Unfortunately, whenever foreign affairs are mentioned, a good deal of time is taken up by Pakistan. Lately, the Jammu agitation has

also figured rather prominently.¹ The Communist members repeat on each occasion their thesis in regard to the Soviets being the champions of peace. A frequent criticism is that our foreign policy is one of drift and that we have no friends anywhere.

3. To say that we have no friends anywhere, can only betray a woeful ignorance, unless by friends is meant some embattled nation standing by our sides. Yesterday, I wound up the debate on External Affairs. Although, I spoke for over an hour, I could only touch on some of the questions raised. I referred to our association with the Commonwealth. It is extraordinary how much misapprehension there is over this issue. It is not adequately realized that our association with the Commonwealth is completely different from that of the other Commonwealth countries. It has no legal or constitutional basis. There is nothing about it in our Constitution or in any enactment. We owe no allegiance to the British Crown and we can, if we so choose, put an end to that association whenever we so wish. We are there because we think that it is not only in no sense derogatory to our self-respect and independence, but is advantageous to us in many ways. It is a unique type of association without precedent in history. Perhaps this is the reason why people do not quite understand it and think of it in terms of the old Commonwealth bond before we became a Republic.

4. There is also some confusion about our being in the sterling area or having other economic contacts with the U.K. This has nothing to do with our being in the Commonwealth. There are some countries which are not in the Commonwealth and which are yet in the sterling area. It

1. S. P. Mookerjee reiterated on 16 March that he would fight the Government's policy of repression against the Jammu agitation but assured his full support in the event of any danger to the country's integrity and security. Nehru, while welcoming Mookerjee's assurance, wondered whether it was realized that continuing the agitation and rendering "it more difficult to settle it, makes our international position more difficult."

is quite conceivable that we might not continue in the sterling area and yet be in the Commonwealth. The two are entirely separate and each has to be judged on the merits as to whether it is advantageous to us or not. Being in the Commonwealth puts no strain or obligation upon us. It gives us certain definite advantages and, in a sense, adds to our sphere of influence. The fact that countries like South Africa are also in the Commonwealth has no particular relevance in this connection. Indeed, it is South Africa that is much more embarrassed by our presence there than we are by South Africa's. It is rather an odd thing to say, but the fact is that our being in the Commonwealth gives us a certain additional freedom of action in foreign affairs.

5. The type of association which now exists between India and the U.K. through the Commonwealth is one which might well serve as an exemplar because it casts no obligation such as even a treaty or alliance might do. It means friendly consultation and where possible and desirable, association in any activity. We follow that line with other countries, such as Burma, without any Commonwealth link. Indeed, we are gradually developing fairly close links with a number of Asian countries.

6. In the course of my speech in Parliament yesterday, I referred to the foreign pockets in India, which are a continuous source of irritation to all of us. I made it clear that any use of these pockets as bases in war by the colonial authority holding them or by any other foreign power would be considered an unfriendly act by us. We cannot tolerate any part of India to be used in this way. You will appreciate the importance of this declaration. I also pointed out that the gradual extension of the idea underlying N.A.T.O. to the colonies of the N.A.T.O. countries was dangerous and improper. It is none of our business to interfere with or object to any defence arrangement made by the N.A.T.O. countries. But it does become our business to some extent if this idea of defence is extended to mean the protection of colonial domination in Asia or Africa. Unfortunately, there is this tendency and, under the guise of

fighting or preparing to fight the Communist powers, colonialism is allowed to continue. This is very short-sighted policy even from the point of those colonial powers, because it means having a hostile population to deal with. That can be no help in war.

7. The General Assembly of the United Nations appears to be carrying on a rather dull and drab existence. Nobody seems to know there what active steps to take in regard to any important matter. There is a complete deadlock over the Korean issue. There is another deadlock over the election of the new Secretary-General.² I confess that this does not lead one to hope much for future of the U.N. The initial blunder of not accepting the People's Government of China has led to a succession of blunders and no one knows how to get out of this impasse. Our representatives in the U.N. have also played a somewhat passive role. There was no point in their putting forward any new resolution, unless that was generally acceptable. So far as our last Korean resolution was concerned, it is often said that we were against an immediate ceasefire, which Russia demanded.³ That, of course, is completely untrue. Our resolution⁴ included an immediate ceasefire. For our part, we would gladly accept this even without anything else. But it was clear that this would not be accepted unless the prisoners of war issue was also solved at the same time. Hence our attempts to solve that issue

2 The deadlock was resolved on 31 March when the Security Council elected Dag Hammarskjöld of Sweden as Secretary-General

3 The Communist Powers suspected that the resolution was inspired by the United States through Britain to use India against China. On 2 March, the Soviet delegate charged Lester Pearson, President of the General Assembly, with having sent copies of the Indian resolution to China and claiming that the United Nations desired peace and end of the war when in fact the members of the Atlantic Pact had refused the Soviet demand for a ceasefire. Vyshinsky however reiterated that the Soviets were eager for the return of peace in Korea

8. Marshal Stalin's death⁵ has, of course, been a major event and there have been all kinds of speculations as to its consequences in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Some people, giving way to wishful thinking, imagined that this must lead to disruptive tendencies in the Soviet Union. Nothing of the kind has happened or indeed was likely to happen. In fact, the new set-up in the Soviet Union appears to be as strong and united as any before. In Stalin's time recently there was a tendency to widen the top structure of Government. Under Malenkov,⁶ they have gone back to a smaller authority at the top.⁷ Malenkov has repeatedly laid stress on peace.⁸ What this means is not clear. But one might legitimately conclude that the Soviet Government is prepared to talk about the various problems that afflict the world.

9. After Stalin's death, the leading personality in the Communist world is Chairman Mao Tse-tung⁹ of China. His prestige is great and he stands on his own merits. The successors of Stalin in Russia are not very well known and have certainly not great prestige attached to them outside the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it seems clear that China depends greatly on the Soviet Union and that the two countries will pull together.

10. In domestic affairs, the Jammu agitation and its offshoots

⁵ On 5 March 1953

⁶ Georgi M. Malenkov (b. 1903) Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers in the Soviet Union, 1946-53 and 1955-57 and Chairman, 1953-55, member, Politbureau of the Communist Party, 1946-53, member, Presidium of the Central Committee, 1953-57, manager, Ustkamenogorsk Power Station, 1957-63

⁷ Malenkov became the Premier, and L. Bera, the Minister of Internal Affairs, V. Molotov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and N. Bulganin, the Minister of War

⁸ Addressing the specially summoned session of the Supreme Soviet on 15 March, Malenkov declared that "any country in the world which has the interests of peace at heart including the United States can rest assured of the firm peace policy of the Soviet Union"

⁹ For b. fn. see Vol. 2, p. 116

have attracted a good deal of attention. The agitation in Jammu itself has largely subsided. The attempts in Delhi and in the Punjab to further this agitation have also met with little local success. Even the arrests of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee¹⁰ and other leading personalities,¹¹ created little excitement. I rather doubt if this agitation can continue for long. There is a general realization about its harmful character. There can be little doubt that this particular agitation represents the most reactionary and disruptive tendencies in India

11 It was for this reason that I drew the attention of Members of Parliament as well as many others in Delhi to the menace of this type of narrow-minded communalism¹² Communalism is bad enough in its home sphere, but when it enters the international sphere, it is doubly dangerous We can see the awful picture of narrow-minded bigotry in action in Pakistan, more especially in West Punjab.¹³ It is exactly that type of mind, in reverse, which functions in the communal organizations of India There is no reason behind it, but there is the organized strength of the R.S.S., which does not directly enter into the fray but supplies the manpower for it The Delhi agitation is being kept up largely by volunteers from other places, notably from Kanpur This agitation, like others of its kind, will fade away. But we have to deal always with this basic narrow-minded bigotry which flourishes in communal organizations

10 For biographical see Vol 1, p 36

11 On 6 March, S P Mookerjee, N C Chatterjee and Nand Lal Sharma were arrested in Delhi for defying a ban on processions and meetings but were released on 12 March following the admission by the Supreme Court of a habeas corpus petition filed on their behalf

12 In Delhi on 13 March, Nehru termed the activities of the communal bodies "a vulgarization of public life" and appealed to Congressmen to rouse public consciousness against them

13 Anti-Ahmadiya riots in Lahore, Sialkot, Karachi, Lyallpur, Bahawalpur and Rawalpindi from 28 February led to imposition of martial law in Lahore on 6 March and at Lyallpur on 15 March

12. Recent happenings in West Punjab have been very significant and revealing. We know little about them yet, but it is obvious that the upheaval there was on the biggest scale and it was only by the extreme rigours of martial law that it has ultimately been partly dealt with. Probably, over a thousand persons were killed in this upheaval. We have to take a warning from this and not allow like forces to come into play in India.

13. In East Punjab, Master Tara Singh, who had been arrested previously, has been released as a result of some agreement arrived at.¹⁴ This whole incident of his arrest¹⁵ and release has not redounded to his credit and it has been demonstrated that the Government will not tolerate breaches of the law from anyone, however important he might consider himself to be. Master Tara Singh had become a law unto himself and his speeches were astonishingly violent and foolish.

14. Politics in East Punjab are greatly affected by what happens in Pepsu. As you know, the President has taken over the administration of Pepsu.¹⁶ There was no other course left. An attempt has been made to rouse up the Sikhs against this by making them feel that our Government is unfair to them.¹⁷ This is wholly untrue and the attempt has

14 The cases against Master Tara Singh and other Akali workers were withdrawn and they were released on 14 March 1953 following an understanding reached between the Government and the Akalis, which stipulated withdrawal by the Akalis of their call for satyagraha and the Government's assurance of non-interference in the religious affairs of any sect. The Akali grievance had been that the arrest of Tara Singh while addressing a meeting at Amritsar to celebrate the Nankana Sahib Martyrs Day was an interference in their religious affairs.

15. See ante, p 146

16 On 5 March 1953

17 Eighty-two members of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, belonging to the Akali Dal, in a statement on 8 March, said that the imposition of the President's rule in Pepsu was "gross misuse" of the emergency powers of the President and warned the Government of "the serious consequences of the action in the country and on the minds of Sikhs in particular."

not succeeded to any appreciable extent. There will have to be an election in Pepsu, probably six months later or so. Meanwhile, I hope that under the new regime, there will be considerable improvement in the administration and possibly some good agrarian legislation will be passed. The administration in Pepsu has for long been in a deplorable state.

15. Delhi has now got the railway centenary exhibition.¹⁸ I wish many people from the rest of India could have the opportunity of visiting this exhibition, which is a record of the growth of this great State undertaking. It might be possible to have a permanent railways exhibition here in Delhi.

16. In Japan, the Government has fallen¹⁹ and there is going to be an election.²⁰ It appears that the Government fell, *inter alia*, because of a feeling among the people that it was too much under American influence.

17. I should like to draw your attention to the establishment of a National Extension Organization²¹ throughout the country on behalf of our Food and Agriculture Ministry. Such a widespread and well-trained organization is essential if we are to further effectively our Grow-More-Food Campaign. It has been suggested that a phase programme for the establishment of 4,000 extension blocks during the next eight years should be undertaken immediately. For manning these blocks, trained personnel consisting of village level

18. The exhibition was inaugurated by Nehru on 7 March.

19. The Government of the Liberal Party in Japan headed by Shigeru Yoshida was faced with the prospect of defeat after the passing of a no-confidence motion following the defection of twenty-two members of the party. Prime Minister Yoshida, on losing majority in the lower house, dissolved the Diet on 14 March.

20. On 19 April 1953.

21. The National Extension Service was started to provide trained workers for the implementation of the community development projects all over the country. During the first Five Year Plan, the extension work was expected to cover 900 blocks, each of which consisted of a hundred villages.

workers will be needed on a large scale. The Ministry of Food and Agriculture has already addressed your Government officially on this subject. I should like you to take personal interest in this matter and give it high priority.

18 I have drawn your attention previously to what is called the Japanese method of paddy cultivation. This promises great results for us. The 15th March was fixed for starting a campaign for the promotion of this method and I understand that detailed directions have been issued in various languages. In order to give full effect to this campaign, Government have made a very considerable reduction in the price of ammonium sulphate as fertilizers are specially required for this method of paddy cultivation. I hope that your Government will do everything in its power to popularize this method of paddy cultivation among the farmers.

19. You might be interested to have a brief report about our community projects. Generally speaking, reports are good from the community projects of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, the Punjab, Pepsu, Vindhya Pradesh, Assam, Coorg, Kutch, Tripura and Bilaspur. West Bengal is moving ahead, but rather cautiously. Bombay and Hyderabad had some administrative difficulties which have been removed and progress is likely to be faster now. Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Ajmer and Manipur have been rather backward in this respect. In Delhi, a new Development Commissioner has been appointed and better results are now expected. Rajasthan, Travancore-Cochin and Saurashtra are making fairly good progress. In Mysore, work appears to be at a standstill.

20. The work done in three out of the four projects areas in Assam has been particularly good. 121 miles of road have been built by the tribal people by their own voluntary labour and free gift of land in the course of 2½ months. The road is 25ft wide with an average height of 2½ft. It opens up many villages for the first time to the outside world. *Mahila samities* have been organized by tribal women on an

extensive scale and cottage industries and recreational programmes have made great progress

21. In the Garo hills the tribal people have built 25 miles of road, cutting through hills and dense forest, which till now were only accessible to elephants and wild animals. A substantial number of school buildings are under construction. These are made by the tribal people with the bamboos from the jungle. Land has been reclaimed for rice crops.

22. In the Silchar area, it is interesting and exhilarating to notice the co-operation between the various sections of the people, among them being Manipuris, Muslims, tribal people and the local inhabitants. Youngmen, who till a few months ago were spending their time in shouting slogans and opposing every action of Government, have formed themselves into a *kisan sangh* and are planning the village programme of the community projects with energy and enthusiasm.

23. In Tripura also there is considerable enthusiasm in the people and road building, opening of schools, seed distribution, etc., have been in progress.

24. In Bilaspur, roads and school buildings have been built, thousands of compost pits made, seeds distributed and arrangements made for veterinary and medical aid. Among the Part C States, Bilaspur is far ahead of the others.

25. This very brief survey will indicate to you both the very good work being done in the community projects and also, unfortunately, that some States are lagging behind. It is very likely that the test of a State's progress in future might well be measured, to some extent, by the success of the community projects in the State. It is important that the District Magistrates or the Deputy Commissioners of the areas where community projects are functioning should take active interest in the implementation of this programme. Generally speaking, it has been found that the success of the programme is directly proportional to the ability of, and the active interest taken by the Deputy Commissioners.

26. This morning the President inaugurated the Backward

Classes Commission under the chairmanship of Kakasaheb Kalelkar.²² It is well to remember how many of our people are likely to be affected by the activities and the recommendations of this Commission. The following population figures are significant. They are for all-India:

Scheduled Castes . .	5,13,50,267
Scheduled Tribes . .	1,91,36,250
Unscheduled Backward Classes . .	7,15,85,915
Total	14,20,72,432

Thus, about 14 crores or 142 millions of our people belong to the Scheduled Castes or Tribes and the unscheduled Backward Classes. This is a tremendous number. Even this is based on an empirical classification of Backward Classes. The Government of India has recognized certain castes as backward for the purpose of granting scholarships. It is astonishing to note that the number of these castes is 1,331.

27. This minute division of our people in castes and groups is a terrifying factor. Until we break down these barriers and, in effect, break down the caste system, we shall never wholly get over the difficulties which have faced us. Even so, of course, the economic problem will remain and is the most important. Indeed, from an economic point of view one might well say that about 80% of our population is backward. Progress thus cannot come if we confine it to one group or other, but only if it is India-wide and comprises all

28. Large numbers of foreigners come here and tour about India. Apart from the normal tourists, there are a good number of people who are especially interested in seeing what is being done in building up the new India. I find that in the tour programmes made for them, quite a lot of time is given to sightseeing of our famous monuments, etc. This is,

²² (1885-1981) Associate of Mahatma Gandhi, Chairman, Backward Classes Commission, 1953.

[illegible]

Yours sincerely,
Margaret Mary MacLennan

New Delhi
8 April, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

For eight days I was absent from Delhi touring our North Eastern Frontier regions and crossing over to the Burma side.¹ U Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma, was with me for the greater part of this tour. During this period, I was largely cut off from news. On my return I am rather overwhelmed by many developments. A succession of events have taken place in the international sphere, which have, rather suddenly, changed the whole aspect of the present situation. The initiative in this change has come both from the Soviet Union and from China.² There has been much speculation and even some apprehension as to the real reason for this change in policy.³ Whatever the reason, change is for the good and I do not see why we should not welcome it as such. We cannot allow our fears to overwhelm us at every step. For the first time after a long period, there appears to be some reasonable hope of breaking the deadlock in Korea.

1. From 30 March to 6 April 1953

2 While the Soviet Union laid emphasis on "peaceful co-existence" and welcomed the visit of American journalists to Moscow, Zhou Enlai proposed on 30 March 1953 that both sides in Korea repatriate all willing prisoners and the remaining be handed over to a neutral state "to ensure a just solution of the question of their repatriation "

3 Reports from Washington of 4 April 1953 described the current peace overtures of the Soviet Union and the Chinese leadership as "most dangerous" and a part of the design to stave off the defeat of the Communist forces in Korea by gaining time to rebuild their forces and also to promote differences between the United States and the European allies

India, Hakim Ajmal Khan⁶ and Dr. M.A. Ansari,⁷ he was deeply pained at the occurrences in Delhi and elsewhere of August and September 1947. All that he and Delhi had stood for seemed to have been denied in those terrible days. And so, he, like many others, while rejoicing in the freedom that had crowned our efforts, carried many a wound hidden away in the recesses of his heart. He was a fine writer both in English and Urdu and some of his poems and dramatic pieces in Urdu were notable. For nearly three years he and I and some others lived in the most intimate companionship in Ahmednagar prison.⁸ There can be no better way of getting to know a person than by being in prison with him. All our virtues as well as our failings come out in the strain and abnormal atmosphere of close confinement. Asaf Ali was ill for some time there and later, on transfer to a Punjab prison, he suffered severe illness which shook him up. He recovered gradually, but evidently he never quite got over that attack. Because of his considerable absences from India, during this formative and changing period of our national life, and even more so, from the shock of partition and after and the changes this had brought about in the texture of life in Delhi, Asaf Ali, though fitting in, had a somewhat lost look as if he was missing something he was used to. I believe he liked his latest assignment at Berne, Vienna, and the Vatican and he sent us long and interesting letters and reports. He was looking forward greatly to a conference⁹ we intend having at Lucerne in Switzerland in June next. This conference is meant for the Heads of our Missions in Europe. We are having these regional conferences and find them very

6 (1865-1927) Leading physician of the Unani school of medicine and prominent Congressman of Delhi and supporter of the non-cooperation movement, President, Indian National Congress, 1921.

7 (1880-1936) Physician and a leading Congressman of Delhi, played a prominent role in the Home Rule and Khilafat campaigns, President, Indian National Congress, 1927.

8 From 9 August 1942 to 28 March 1945

9 The conference at Burgenstock near Lucerne from 17 to 20 June 1953 was attended by eleven Heads of Indian Missions

helpful Asaf Ali was particularly in charge of the Lucerne Conference and was taking a personal interest in the arrangements for it. I was myself greatly looking forward to this visit to Lucerne where I would meet him and others and discuss this changing scene in international affairs and try to understand it. He died suddenly with practically no advance warning and when he appeared to be in tolerable health. His wife had joined him only the day before. Perhaps it is better to die that way and not after a lingering and painful illness. The shock and the sorrow is for others.

5. Shafiqur-Rehman Qidwai had this long illness and for the last two months or more he lay in hospital. He was not an all-India figure like Asaf Ali, but perhaps few men were loved and respected so much in the circle of their acquaintance. In Delhi, Shafiqur-Rehman was immensely popular, quiet and modest and devoted to his work, more particularly to education, which was his special subject. He was that rare type which is the salt of the earth. All his life he had served the Jamia Millia on a bare pittance. He was one of that noble band who had helped Dr. Zakir Hussain¹⁰ to build up the Jamia and made it what it is. All his life was a long and continuing record of self-sacrificing labour and smiling devotion to duty. There was no fuss about him or ambition for office. When a ministership in Delhi State came to him, he hesitated for long and it was no easy matter for me to induce him to accept it. Yet having taken this responsibility, he put his heart and soul in the work.

6. So I return to Delhi from my north-eastern tour rich in many new and valuable experiences, but feeling rather desolate and the poorer for the loss of two friends and comrades. The old generation passes and we who belong to that generation, begin to feel a little lonely occasionally. We carry on with our work because it is that which gives some meaning and function to life.

7. My visit to the frontier areas gave me a further insight

10 For b. fn. see Vol. 1, p. 439

into the problems of these tribal people whom I like so much, even though sometimes some of them are troublesome. I wish I could make our countrymen in the rest of India realize the importance of these areas and the fine quality of many of the people who live there. They are a challenge to us. How are we going to deal with them and how are we going to benefit them? Not by treating them as museum and anthropological specimens as the British used to do, and not by ignoring their distinctive character and trying to merge them in the common sea of Indian humanity, where they would lose many of the virtues that they possess without perhaps gaining other virtues.

8. The mere fact that the two Prime Ministers of India and Burma jointly toured these tribal areas on both sides of the frontier had great significance. I rather doubt if this kind of thing has been done previously anywhere. It brought out the friendly and co-operative character of our relationship. Our frontier with Burma, though a difficult one and sometimes even an undemarcated one, offers us no political problem of any magnitude. I wish our other frontiers were equally fortunate.

9. Apart from tribal problems, U Nu and I discussed many matters, for there is much in common in our views of international affairs and even in regard to domestic policies. U Nu and the Burmese Government are specially exercised at present about the presence and the depredations of the Kuomintang troops in North-East Burma. These troops have been there for the last two or three years. One would have thought that without outside help and supplies, they would fade out. Instead of this, they have actually grown in numbers and have got new equipment. They tried to commit raids into China but were driven back with heavy loss. Nevertheless, they have grown and lately they have committed all kinds of atrocities on the Burmese. It is clear, therefore, that they have been receiving supplies from abroad. Those supplies can only come *via* Thailand and probably from Formosa. Who is directly actually responsible for this, it is difficult to say. Possibly some foreign adventurers

are responsible. But it is a legitimate inference that the Formosa Government has helped in this matter and that the Thai Government has connived at it. There are stories of some Americans helping in the gun running and indeed having airlifts. The U.S. Government had denied responsibility¹¹ and we should accept their denial, but that does not absolve individual Americans from being parties to this business.

10. It is absolutely clear that the presence of these Kuomintang troops in Burma is an offence by every kind of law, national or international. Their misbehaviour makes it worse. The Burmese Government have been extraordinarily patient about this. For the last two years they have been thinking of taking this matter to the U.N. and have often consulted us on the subject. They have repeatedly drawn the attention of the U.S. and U.K. Governments to it, who have promised to do something.¹² What they did, I do know, but it produced no results whatever. Now, at last, the Burmese Government decided to make a complaint of K.M.T. aggression before the U.N. This woke up the U.S. Government to the seriousness of the situation and they have been trying ever since to get this discussion postponed so that some transfer of the

11 Dean Acheson, on 23 January, and the acting U.S. Charge d' Affaires in Burma, on 28 January 1953, categorically denied that the United States had aided the Kuomintang troops in any way.

12 On 28 January 1952, the U.S. Charge d' Affaires stated that the United States had, on the Burmese Government's request, represented to the Taiwan Government on the subject "to the extent it was possible for one sovereign Government to put pressure on another." The U.S. Government also assured co-operation in any investigation about the presence of Americans or other foreigners among the Kuomintang forces in Burma.

K M.T troops elsewhere might be arranged.¹³ If the matter comes up for discussion in the U.N.,¹⁴ it will be difficult for the U.S. to come out free from all blame. After all, the Formosa regime is entirely a client State of the U.S., helped and financed by them.

11. The Burmese Government have felt so strongly in this matter that they have decided not to accept any more technical aid assistance from the U.S.¹⁵ This was a brave step, because undoubtedly Burma was profiting by this assistance and wanted it. But it was said that they were tolerating the presence of K M.T troops in order to get assistance from the U.S. They were too proud and sensitive to put up with this charge and they felt also that by giving up this aid, they will force attention to this issue, which indeed they have done. There can be no doubt that the Burmese case in this matter is a strong one from every point of view. We have assured them of our full support.

12. Just before I left for the frontier, we held a regional conference in Delhi of our Heads of Missions in Western Asia.¹⁶ For several days we met together and discussed not only the problems of each individual and country, but even more so the larger world situation, more especially in relation to the Middle East.¹⁷ These talks were very profitable

¹³ Nehru was told by U Nu on 6 April 1953 that the American Ambassador in Burma had proposed to the Burmese Government postponement of the discussion of the K M T issue in the United Nations till the next session of the General Assembly, and in the interim period a committee consisting of Thailand, Nationalist China, U S A , and Burma could consider ways and means of implementing withdrawal of the K.M.T troops

¹⁴ The political committee discussed the issue on 17 April 1953

¹⁵ The Burmese Government informed the United States on 17 March that they would terminate the agreement by 30 June 1953

¹⁶ From 25 to 27 March 1953

¹⁷ The conference discussed the prospects of expanding India's trade with East and West Asian countries against stiff Japanese competition. It also underlined the need to encourage cultural exchanges and provide correct and adequate information about India in these countries

and instructive. It is clear that these regional conferences do much good. Our next such conference as I have indicated, will be held at Lucerne in Switzerland in June next. This will be for our European Missions.

13. The position in the Middle Eastern countries might perhaps be described in somewhat contradictory terms as one of static semi-crisis. In Iran, the deadlock with the U.K. continues and there appears to be no prospect of a solution¹⁸ Meanwhile, internal difficulties have arisen and there have been some differences between Prime Minister Mosaddeq and the Shah¹⁹ Every crisis that develops there leaves Prime Minister Mosaddeq firmly in the saddle. There appears to be no doubt that he is the dominating personality in Iran both with the people and with a large section of the army.

14. Developments in Egypt are more interesting and of wider significance. The Sudan issue, though not finally settled, is on the way to settlement, and our Chief Election Commissioner, Shri Sukumar Sen, is functioning as the Chairman of the Sudan Election Commission. He has not only to arrange for the carrying out of the election but has to give some important political decisions as to the number of seats that should be set aside for nomination and the number to be elected. This decision will make a difference. The U.K. Government is anxious to have a fairly large number of nominated members; the Egyptian Government prefer more elected members. The principal issue now in Egypt is that of the Suez Canal,²⁰ where the U.K. Government has got enormous installations. It is in fact their principal centre for

18 On 19 March, Iran rejected fresh Anglo-American proposals for settlement of the oil dispute

19 See *ante*, p 260

20 The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 authorizing the presence of British troops in the Suez Canal Zone for joint control over the movement of ships through the Canal was unilaterally abrogated by Egypt on 8 October 1951. The British Government took strong exception to this. On 22 March 1953, Neguib demanded unconditional evacuation of the British troops from Egypt. Discussions between the two countries on the issue lasting ten days were adjourned indefinitely on 6 May 1953

the whole of the Middle East region and they will suffer very great loss if they have to give it up and yet there seems no other way but for them to give it up. Even from a military point of view, it cannot be of much use to them unless there is agreement with Egypt. Because of this lack of agreement, there has not been any progress made in regard to the proposed Middle East Defence Organization.

15. The outstanding development in the international situation during the last few days has come from the Soviet Union and, to some extent, from China. Internally, in Russia, the sudden release of the Jewish doctors²¹ and the punishment of those who were instrumental in sending them to prison, has been a strange and wholly unexpected development which it is not easy to explain. In any event, it indicates a change in internal policy. That should not lead us to think that the basic policies laid down in Stalin's time are being varied. But this, as well as other events, do indicate that the Soviet Union is putting forward a conciliatory approach and would like to create an atmosphere of peace. The reactions to this in other countries have on the whole been good, but there is much apprehension, especially in the U.S.A., as to the motives behind all this. There are also some people in the U.S.A. who do not particularly like a sudden cessation of the "cold war"²² as this might have certain internal and external consequences which they might not approve of

16 The Chinese Government, no doubt with the approval of the Soviet Union, have also put forward proposals for an armistice in Korea. These proposals begin with an exchange

²¹ The official announcement on 4 April 1953 said that fifteen doctors arrested on 13 January had been exonerated of the charges of murder of Soviet leaders

²² Dulles said on 3 April 1953 that the Communist peace overtures had not removed the basic threat posed by the Soviet Union to the free world. On 3 April 1953, General Alfred Gruenther said that the Soviet Union was undoubtedly "making a major effort" to isolate the United States from its allies

of sick and wounded prisoners²³ and are being extended to cover other matters. In effect, the Chinese Government has come very near the Indian resolution on Korea.

17. Dr. Graham has presented another report about his talks on Kashmir.²⁴ This report does not carry us any further. Meanwhile, there has been much talk of my meeting Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Pakistan Prime Minister, to discuss various matters in issue between us including Kashmir. I had suggested to him that there should be a meeting at official level to consider most of these matters and it is likely that such a meeting will take place fairly soon. He had invited me to go to Karachi, but it is very difficult for me to find the time for this in April or May, that is, before I leave for England. I would also like to wait for the result of the official meeting before I fix any visit to Karachi.

18. Conditions in Pakistan have not wholly settled down yet, more specially in West Punjab where the anti-Qadiani troubles continue to some extent.²⁵ On the whole, however, the Central Government of Pakistan has functioned with strength and Khwaja Nazimuddin has, for the first time, come out as a man of some strength and decisive action.

19. You know of the decisions we have thus far made regarding the Andhra State which is to be established on the 1st October, 1953. The principal points have already been decided, others are being attended to. One relatively minor

²³ An agreement to this effect was signed on 9 April between the U N and the Communist Commands.

²⁴ In his report presented on 27 March 1953, Graham said that as both sides had refused his proposal of 14 February in regard to the number of troops to be stationed on either side of the ceasefire line, he felt that there was no ground left to continue the conference and therefore in agreement with the two representatives had decided to conclude it. He however suggested that the two countries reach an agreement through direct negotiations.

²⁵ See *ante*, p 266

matter, namely that relating to the Bellary *taluk*,²⁶ is still under consideration. It has been a matter of surprise and distress to me at the way violent agitation is taking place about this *taluk*. Rails have been uprooted, trains stopped and generally an attempt made to force the hands of Government in making its decision. We shall come to a decision about the Bellary *taluk* very soon.²⁷ We have been waiting for detailed figures about it and we have now received them. It is a bad thing for some of our people to take to these totally unnecessary and highly objectionable methods in matters of this kind. What is regrettable is that some otherwise responsible persons encourage this kind of thing. At a moment when all kinds of vital developments are taking place in the world, and in India we are facing major problems, for some people to try to make a small issue like that of the Bellary *taluk* the first issue in India, does not show either wisdom or vision.

20 I have been asked to draw your attention to the questionnaire issued by the Press Commission of which

26 There was a hartal and demonstrations by students in Hubli on 3 April 1953 to protest against the 'dismemberment' of Bellary district from Mysore and its inclusion in the proposed Andhra State. Several Congress members expressed their strong feelings in the Bombay Legislature on the subject and some members in Mysore even resigned their membership of the party on 26 March.

27 On 19 May, the Government accepted the recommendation to retain Bellary *taluk* in the Mysore state.

Justice Rajadhyaksha²⁸ is the Chairman. The work of this Commission has been held up by the delay in obtaining replies to their questionnaire. This questionnaire was sent to all the State Governments also. It is a long one and it may not be easy to answer all the questions. But whatever answers can be given should be sent as early as possible. I would request you to have this done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

²⁸ G S Rajadhyaksha (1896-1955) Entered I C S, 1920, member, Court of Industrial Arbitration, 1940-46, Commissioner, Income Tax Investigation Commission, 1947-48, Chairman, Indian Air Transport Inquiry Committee, 1951 and Press Commission, 1952-53

New Delhi
19 April, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

The international situation has continued to develop since I wrote to you last eleven days ago and many notable events have taken place. One might almost think that peace is going to break out in the Far East. There is definitely a possibility of ceasefire there. The first practical step agreed to was the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners.¹ This is on its way now. In the U.N., the Brazilian resolution regarding Korea² was adopted and the Polish resolution³ was withdrawn.⁴ This was an additional gesture on the part of the Soviet group in the U.N. in favour of a peaceful settlement.

2. Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of China, made a proposal some days ago about the exchange of prisoners which was very near the Indian resolution at the U.N.⁵ This proposal

¹ See *ante*, p 282

² The resolution passed by the General Assembly on 19 April 1953 noted the agreement signed for the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war in Korea; expressed hope that further negotiations at Panmunjom would lead to an early armistice in Korea; and proposed immediate discussion on the Korean question in the Assembly after armistice agreement had been signed

³ The Polish resolution, besides calling for an end to the Korean war, suggested a treaty between the five great powers banning the use of the atomic bomb, reduction by one-third of their armed forces, and dissolution of the "aggressive" N A T O. Pact

⁴ Poland agreed to withdraw her resolution in response to an appeal by India

⁵ See *ante*, p.273.

was communicated more formally by the North Korean General Nam Il⁶ at Panmunjom. I think it might be said that this was partly the result of the Indian resolution on Korea at the U.N., which was so much condemned by the Soviet Union and China at the time. It is interesting also to note that the proposal for the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners was originally made by our Health Minister⁷ at an International Red Cross Conference last year.⁸ It was passed at that conference but not accepted by the Soviet representative there. We have no particular desire to take credit for these developments, because they are really due to many other factors and forces at work. But it is some satisfaction to know that we have been moving in the right direction and that others have gradually come into line.

3. Whatever the reasons might be for the change in policy in the Soviet Union and in China, there can be no doubt that there has been a marked change and the change is for the good. As such we must welcome it. In America, even more than elsewhere, there is a good deal of apprehension about this change and a feeling that this is some subtle intrigue which has to be guarded against. The outbreak of peace, though obviously welcomed by large numbers of people, is viewed with apprehension by some, who think that this might lead to even more difficult problems. Persons who believe in the inevitability of war can only view any immediate armistice as a postponement of the inevitable. It is thought that a truce in Korea will be advantageous to the North Koreans and Chinese and will enable them to build up their forces there without interference from hostile air or

6 (1914-1976) Chief of the Staff of the Korean People's Army, 1950, Chairman, North Korean Armistice Delegation, 1951-53, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1953-57, Deputy Prime Minister, 1957, Minister of Railways, 1963-67

7 Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. For b fn see Vol-1, p 364

8 Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, at the meeting of the executive committee of the League of the Red Cross Societies in December 1952, appealed for ending of hostilities in Korea and suggested immediate repatriation of all sick and wounded prisoners as a gesture of goodwill

sea power, and to wait patiently for a future opportunity for aggression. Hence military opinion in the U.S. does not view the possibility of a truce with much favour.

4. On the other hand, there is obviously a passionate longing for peace and President Eisenhower delivered an important speech three days ago,⁹ in which he called for peace and world disarmament. He further made a proposal for a world reconstruction fund to be built up out of the savings from the armament programme to be used for the development specially of the undeveloped areas of the world. This proposal is not a new one and representatives of India have in the past suggested it. But, coming from the President of the U.S., it is obviously important. President Eisenhower's speech is certainly a great improvement upon the recent American approach to these problems which afflict Asia and Europe. There is, however, still an element of apprehension in it and lack of faith in the sincerity of the Soviet Union's desire for peace.¹⁰

5. These world developments have been accompanied by somewhat friendlier relations between India and the Soviet Union and China. Unfortunately, in China especially, these relations had become distant and tense after the passing by the U.N. of the Indian resolution on Korea and many hard things have been said in China about India.¹¹ Gradually that stopped and now there have been definite approaches to us again.¹² While we are always willing to help, it is natural for

⁹ On 16 April 1953

¹⁰ In his speech on 16 April 1953, Eisenhower, while welcoming the Soviet desire for peace, asserted that the "sincerity of peaceful purpose" should be "attested by deeds", and "clear and specific acts", such as signing of an Austrian treaty, release of thousands of prisoners held since Second World War, peace in Asia, and disarmament which would be "impressive signs of sincere intent."

¹¹ Beijing Radio accused India on 5 December 1952 of allying herself with the West in "hostile actions" against the Communist nations.

¹² India's Ambassador in Beijing reported that Zhou Enlai was keen on having friendly ties with India and desired India's help in resumption of negotiations at Panmunjom.

us to be a little cautious for fear of getting entangled and causing embarrassment all round. So we move warily, but we move, I hope, in the right direction. The Chinese and the North Korean proposals envisaged a neutral power to take charge of such prisoners as do not immediately seek to be repatriated. It is not clear whether these prisoners will be kept in Korea under the supervision of that neutral power or are expected to be transported to the territory of that power. The presumption, I suppose, is that they should remain more or less where they are or in some place nearby which might be declared neutral for the purpose. There is no indication about the neutral power. The U.S. have suggested Switzerland. We are not at all anxious to be nominated as such a neutral power.

6. So, events are moving fairly rapidly and we may be faced one of these days with the outbreak of peace, as it is called, in these days when war seems to be the normal state of affairs of mankind. What will be the consequence of this when it comes? It will naturally lead to the consideration of political problems. In the Far East, this means the future of Korea itself, Formosa, and the question of the People's Government of China becoming a member of the U.N. All these are difficult, more especially the problem of Formosa. American strategy is based on Formosa being a base for action in case of war and there is little chance of their giving this up, although some eminent soldiers think that it is of no great importance from that point of view. In Europe the principal problem is that of Germany. President Eisenhower has made a statement in regard to Germany which is more helpful than previous statements.¹³ A smaller problem of Europe is

13 On 16 April 1953, Eisenhower said that the United States was keen to "press forward with present plans for the closer unity of nations of Western Europe conducive to the free movement of persons, trade and ideas. This community would include a free and united Germany with a Government based upon free and secret elections." He appealed to the Soviet Union for a political settlement.

that of Austria.¹⁴ This small and unfortunate country has suffered greatly because of the political rivalries of Great Powers. By itself it means little to either, but, as a possible base for action in case of war, it has importance. It should not be too difficult to arrive at a settlement about Austria. If this happens, that would undoubtedly create a very good impression and relieve the tension in Europe.

7. Apart from the political problems, there are economic consequences of peace. We do not know the internal conditions of the Soviet Union or China. Undoubtedly China has been geared up to war conditions. But its economy is such that probably it will not be difficult to face the challenge of peace and convert their military apparatus towards peaceful reconstruction. It should be still less difficult in the Soviet Union which has apparently undergone no great change during the last two or three years in this respect. In the United States of America and, to some extent, in the Western European countries, the economic consequences are likely to be far more considerable. America has been geared up to war production on a colossal scale. Probably, if peace comes, there will have to be a shift over from this and it is likely that prices of many articles may fall owing to a glut in the market. This might specially apply to defence equipment which is flowing out of American factories at a tremendous pace. There is a certain fear of some measure of economic upset because of this possible change-over in America.

8. But all these are relatively minor matters, if the main objective of peace is gained and the world tension lessened and efforts directed to peaceful reconstruction and development. If the present atmosphere of fear and suspicion that pervades the world changes into something better, then the gain is immeasurable and the whole world will profit by it.

¹⁴ The Soviet Union had insisted on 'demilitarization and denazification' of Austria prior to signing of a peace treaty by the Allies and in February 1953 demanded withdrawal of the treaty proposed by the United States, Britain and France.

9 The U N General Assembly is now considering the Burmese complaint about the presence of Kuomintang troops on the Burma-China border.¹⁵ I have referred to this in my previous letters. Subsequent information made public has made the position of Burma stronger. There can be no doubt that these forces have committed aggression and the Burmese Government are entitled to deal with that forcibly. The U S Government have denied any active assistance to them and we should accept their denial.¹⁶ But there can be little doubt that they could not have remained there if the U S. Government had taken a strong line with the Formosa Government. We are giving our full support to the Burmese complaint.

10 The recent developments in Pakistan, leading to the dismissal of the Prime Minister, have come as a surprise everywhere.¹⁷ As this news reached me, I was actually reading the last letter from Khwaja Nazimuddin to me.¹⁸ In this he expressed his regret for the behaviour of *Dawn* newspaper in giving publicity to a false statement.¹⁹ The change came suddenly but obviously there must have been a good deal of what is called palace intrigue behind it. This was not the result of any popular upheaval. It is not clear whether the Army Chiefs or the Civil Service heads had any hand in it. We had been informed that Khwaja Nazimuddin's stern handling of the West Punjab situation had enhanced his prestige. Now we are told that he had no prestige left. It seems that these changes represent a struggle for power at the

15 The Burmese complaint about the presence of Kuomintang troops in their territory was introduced in the General Assembly on 18 April 1953.

16 See *ante*, p 278.

17 The Governor-General of Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammad, dismissed Khwaja Nazimuddin and his Cabinet on 17 April 1953, on the ground that they had proved "inadequate to grapple with the difficulties facing the country", and asked Mahomed Ali Bogra to form a new Government.

18 On 15 April 1953.

19 *Dawn* had reported on 12 April 1953 that Nehru had "refused to discuss" Kashmir and the canal water dispute with Nazimuddin.

top plus, of course, grave dissatisfaction in the public mind at the way the situation in Pakistan had been deteriorating during the past year or so.

11. Mr Zafrullah Khan had said sometime ago that Pakistan was a Middle-Eastern country, closely allied to the other countries of Western Asia.²⁰ This was a novel idea because nobody had ever thought of this Middle-Eastern region, as it is called, extending to and including Pakistan. But, in a sense, Pakistan has indicated that, politically speaking, it is in line with the Middle East, where changes take place by sudden coups. I cannot say whether the new Government is likely to be better or worse than the last one. The new Prime Minister, Mr Mahomed Ali,²¹ is rather an unknown quantity and it is possible that he may not occupy that post for long, unless he remains there as a kind of balancing factor between powerful rivals. All this indicates the political instability of Pakistan in addition to the economic distress which the country is suffering from. Mr. Abdul Qayyum Khan,²² the strong man of Pakistan, has left his Chief Ministership of the Frontier Province and has now become a Minister in the Central Government. He is hardly likely to play second fiddle there.²³ Meanwhile, an interesting consequence is that a new person will be Chief Minister in the Frontier Province.²⁴

20 On 24 July 1952, Zafrullah Khan declared "It is to be hoped that, in the first instance, law and order in all Middle East territories in which Pakistan is also included, will be impartially, firmly and, if necessary, even ruthlessly maintained."

21. (1909-1963) Member, Bengal Muslim League, 1937-47; Ambassador to Burma, 1948, High Commissioner to Canada, 1949, Ambassador to the United States, 1952-53, Prime Minister of Pakistan 1953-55

22 For b fn see Vol 1, p 326

23 On 17 April 1953, he was appointed Minister for Industries, Food and Agriculture

24 Abdul Rashid, Inspector-General of Police of N W F P took over as Chief Minister on 23 April 1953

12 In South Africa, Dr. Malan has secured a victory in the general elections ²⁵ He went to the polls on the clear issue of apartheid or racial segregation and he has won This means an accentuation of the situation in South Africa and probably additional measures to suppress the Africans and the Indians there. From the governmental point of view, this can no doubt be done and the movement against racial discrimination suppressed. But no one can imagine that Dr Malan's victory will put an end to the passionate demand of the African people Possibilities of peaceful settlement are being eliminated and the chances of greater and more widespread conflict increased. This, I believe, is being increasingly recognized in other parts of the world and the conscience of Europe and America, such as it is on these issues, is troubled. But this pricking of conscience is not enough to make these countries change their policies

13 In other parts of Africa also there is trouble more especially in Kenya where, according to the statement of a U K Minister, there is some kind of civil war going on There have been horrible murders committed by some Africans of the Kikuyu tribe and there has been equally horrible mass repression by the government and, even more so, by the European settlers. On both sides deep passions have been roused and the future is very dark. The conviction of and the sentence passed²⁶ on Jomo Kenyatta²⁷ has added to the fire that is gradually spreading in those areas We must condemn, not only for moral but also for practical reasons, the murder campaign of the Mau Mau society, or whatever it is. That puts the Africans there in the wrong and gives a

25 In the elections held on 15 April 1953 Malan's National Party defeated the United Party

26 On 8 April 1953, Jomo Kenyatta and five others were convicted on charges of active involvement in the activities of the Mau Mau society and sentenced to seven-years' hard labour

27 (1891-1978) President, Kenyan African Union, 1947-52, imprisoned by the British, 1952-61, Prime Minister, 1963-64, President of the Republic of Kenya, 1962-78

strong pretext for stern action to be taken against them. The European settlers have taken full advantage of this. But we have to remember that these Africans have suffered terribly in the past and have been deprived of their lands. Gradually they have begun to make demands which are perfectly legitimate. The refusal to attend to any of these demands has led to deep frustration. And now the terrible repression on a mass scale that is going on in Kenya cannot possibly solve this problem. The sympathy of other African tribes is gradually being attracted towards the Kikuyus, who are the main sufferers at present. Whatever the faults and the sins of the Kikuyus might be, they have become the champions of reform. The passion for education among them has been extraordinary. They built up, almost with their blood and tears, thousands of schools. All these schools have now been closed by Government decree.²⁸ I cannot understand how any Government can expect to solve this tremendous problem of Africa in this way.

14 The proposal to have a Central African Federation has also been passed²⁹ in spite of the united opposition of the African leaders there.³⁰ This means the creation of another white European settlers' dominion, which is much worse than direct colonial administration. The only relieving feature of the scene in Africa is the progress made in Gold

28 See ante, p 220

29 On 23 March 1953, the House of Commons approved the scheme to merge the British colonies of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in a Central African Federation. It would have a federal constitution, a central government for the settlers controlled area and civil service.

30 In all the three territories, opposition to the federation scheme grew intense and on 13 April 1953 the chiefs in Nyasaland and the Nyasaland African Congress decided to appeal to the United Nations against the proposed scheme.

Coast³¹ and Nigeria³² The U K Government (the last Labour Government in the U.K) took a definite step in advance there and there is some measure of self-government. But even in Nigeria, there is some trouble now and the Ministers have resigned³³

15 In the course of a public speech I made on April 13th in Delhi, I referred to this African situation.³⁴ I tried to do so in restrained language because we have always to be careful in referring to the domestic politics of other countries. Nevertheless, what I said has given some offence in the U.K,³⁵ as well as, of course, to the European settlers in Kenya.³⁶ I am sorry for that, but it would be absurd for me to remain silent when issues of vast importance are facing us. Africa is one of the major world problems of the day and if that leads to racial conflict on a big scale, the whole world is affected. We in India have stood uncompromisingly for racial equality and have believed that that is one of the basic pillars on

31 The British Government's statement of June 1952 on the proposed Gold Coast (Ghana) Constitution which was to pave way for the transfer of power by the British, evoked positive response from all major sections of public opinion

32 Election took place for the central and the regional legislatures in Nigeria between August 1951 and January 1952 under the new Constitution adopted on 29 June 1951

33 On 31 March 1953, four Ministers resigned protesting that "they could not associate with those who have not the guts to say when we should have self-government "

34 Referring to the "worsening situation" in the African continent, Nehru warned against suppression of Africans and declared that "this question is bound to become a world question, if not immediately, within the course of the next few years " He reiterated India's sympathy with the people of Kenya in their struggle for freedom

35 The Indian High Commissioner conveyed on 17 April 1953 the displeasure of Lord Swinton, the British Commonwealth Secretary, over what he deemed to be an interference in British domestic affairs. Swinton had asked Kher "how would it strike you if we criticized your policy in regard to say the separation of Andhra State or untouchability "

36 The European Electors' Union referring on 15 April 1953 to the "mounting evidence of Indian interference in Kenya's affairs," charged Nehru and the Indian Government with encouraging it

which peace can be established. Indeed, the United Nations Charter proclaims this fact also.

16 One disturbing factor in Africa is the attempt being made, with some success, to establish European settlers' dominions. This means having the kind of countries like South Africa with its racial policy. The Central African Federation has already been decided upon. The demand is made for an East African Federation also.³⁷ This means petrifying racial domination in a much worse way than the older forms of colonialism. From the larger point of view of India and of Asia, this is a most undesirable development.

17 We have recently had a conference of Development Commissioners in Delhi.³⁸ This conference considered not only the work done by the community centres, but also the new proposals for an extension service, which is intended to cover a very large part of India in the course of the next few years. Reports of work in community centres are generally satisfactory. One might say that 25 per cent of them have done very well indeed, above expectation. Another 25 to 30 per cent have done well. Another 30 or 35 per cent have done fairly well. About 10 per cent have not done well at all. As a whole, it might be said that the progress made has been very satisfactory, more especially in the response that it has evoked in the people. As I have written to you previously, the community centres are going to be a test of the States in the future. The extension scheme is something much more widespread and ambitious. It is thought of in a less intensive way, but it is going to be a permanent feature and we attach the greatest importance to it. It is a peaceful method, but the approach is a revolutionary one and if we succeed in it, as we must, we shall have brought about revolutionary change all over India of tremendous significance.

³⁷ It was reported that a scheme for an East African Federation comprising Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika on the lines of the Central African Federation was being prepared by Oliver Lyttelton, the British Colonial Secretary.

³⁸ From 16 to 19 April 1953.

18 Some months ago a very eminent expert in Public Administration, Dr Paul H Appleby,³⁹ was invited by the Government of India to advise us on public administration. He spent some months here and presented a report.⁴⁰ I am having a copy of this report sent to you separately. This report is a document of outstanding importance. It is an evaluation and an appraisal of our Administration and the work we are doing, it is also a criticism of our failings. I would invite your particular attention to this report for it comes from one of the greatest authorities on this subject. I feel that the recommendations he makes deserve our earnest consideration and action thereon. I would suggest that this report might be read by your Ministers and your senior servicemen. Dr Appleby deals with the necessity of change in the whole outlook and methods of our administrative apparatus. That, indeed, has been said by many people previously. But we have been hesitant in dealing with this matter. We have worked too much in the ruts and carried on old traditions which have little significance today. If we are to work for a welfare State, the whole of our administrative service has to function somewhat differently and, indeed has

39 (1891-1963) Long years of service in various capacities in the United States Government, Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University, 1952-61, visited India in 1952 and again in 1961 as consultant to the Government of India on public administration.

40 In his report submitted in January 1953, Appleby criticized "the structure which subordinated the national Government to State, district and municipal control making implementation of programmes of national importance difficult," and suggested some structural changes like (i) creation of middle-level functionaries and recruitment of more executives at all levels, (ii) a more flexible system of recruitment to meet particular needs and requirements, (iii) the setting up of panels of qualified persons in place of the existing practice of selecting individuals, (iv) arranging of refresher courses for the serving personnel, (v) setting up of an Organization and Management Division in each Department to monitor the work, and (vi) finding ways to improve the administration through specialized studies and review undertaken by the Institute of Public Administration.

to think differently. Dr Appleby points out how class divisions form such an intimate part of our service organization and vitiate it to some extent. As he says, "there are too many forms of class, rank and prerogative consciousness." He also refers to our governmental procedure which is cumbersome and wasteful and dilatory. In particular, he lays stress on the difficulty of fixing responsibility. I think that one of the major issues that we should face, and face soon, is a reorganization of our administrative structure.

19 Some days ago I was in Burma.⁴¹ I was interested to find out the salary scales there. I was told that the average village teacher got a salary of Rs. 125/- a month. In fact, the minimum salary in Burma appeared to be at least Rs. 100/- a month and the average daily wage Rs. 3/-. The topmost salaries were that of the President and of the Supreme Court Judges. Apart from these, the highest salaries were those of two Financial Commissioners who got Rs. 1,800/- a month. For the rest, the highest salary was Rs. 1,600/-. Thus, the difference between the lowest salary and the average highest salary was 1 to 16. The differences in India are far greater and are thought of in terms of class and status. That is a bad approach.

20 I have been much distressed at the strikes of primary school teachers in some States.⁴² I know the difficulties of the States concerned and that they have increased these salaries considerably during the past few years since independence. Nevertheless, the teachers' salaries are woefully low. What can we expect our next generation to be if we pay our teachers less than our peons and *chaprasis*? The contrast between these salaries and the higher ones that we pay is very marked. We must give thought to this matter.

⁴¹ On 31 March and 1 April 1953

⁴² For example, the Uttar Pradesh Adhyapak Mandal had intensified its agitation on 8 March 1953 for increased pay and dearness allowance.

21. I visited Roorkee the other day to attend the opening ceremony of the Central Building Research Institute ⁴³ This is the last of our eleven national laboratories and it was a great satisfaction to me to feel that we had completed this part of our programme.

22 The proposed formation of the Andhra State has led to demands elsewhere and some people seem to imagine that the best way to realize their wishes is to go on hunger strike ⁴⁴ India today stands as the one politically and economically stable country in a great part of Asia from West to East But the disruptive tendencies are there as is evident from the mischievous communal agitations going on and these demands for linguistic States and the like. It surprises me that responsible people should not appreciate what first priorities are in India or should deliberately create trouble such as the communal organizations are doing in regard to Jammu. That shows a narrow and bigoted mentality which, if it succeeded, could only bring ruin to India Fortunately there are wiser people in India and the general public has got a good appreciation of the situation. But this requires constant touch with the public and explanation to them of what is happening

23 I feel that after the establishment of the Andhra State, we should consider this whole problem of reorganization of State boundaries in a realistic and dispassionate way, such as has been suggested at the last session of the Congress ⁴⁵ The purely linguistic approach is obviously not good enough. It is hoped, therefore, to appoint, towards the end of the year,

⁴³ Nehru presided over the function to open the Central Building Research Institute at Roorkee on 12 April 1953 The Institute was set up to study and suggest methods to improve construction of buildings and in the use of building material

⁴⁴ Shankargouda, President, Hubli Taluka Congress, undertook an indefinite fast from 28 March 1953 to press the demand for the formation of the Karnataka State by 2 October 1954, and if this were not done, he threatened to initiate a non-violent agitation by Karnataka Congress workers

⁴⁵ See *ante*, p 238

some kind of a high-powered commission to go into this matter fully without fuss. We could then have the entire picture before us of what is feasible and what is desirable and what the consequences are likely to be. This picture will be not only before Government, but before the people so that they might know of these consequences and not decide some question by itself regardless of its effects

24. The railway centenary celebration and exhibition have attracted much attention.⁴⁶ A hundred years is a long time, but the exhibition shows a record of progress which is creditable. I hope that many of you will be in a position to see this exhibition and to realize not only what we have done, but what we intend doing.

25. The big changes that have taken place in Soviet and Chinese policies have naturally led the Communist Party in India to think furiously. I have an idea that they are trying to take a more realistic view of the situation both in the world and in India and are likely to indulge less in adventurist tactics.

26. I intend touring the scarcity areas in Maharashtra. I shall leave Delhi on April 28th and return on May 4th. I expect to visit Belgaum, Ratnagiri, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur and a number of other places.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46 See *ante*, p 268

New Delhi
27 April, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

In my last fortnightly letter I referred to the national extension service,¹ which was being thought of as a permanent expansion of the community development programme. The central committee for the community projects has now accepted this proposal for a national extension service, subject to a further examination of some financial aspects of it. Your Government is being addressed separately in this matter and requested to examine the proposals, more particularly in regard to the trained personnel available and the pace of progress.

I would commend this matter to your personal attention, because it is of the widest significance. I hope that your Government will give thought to the various questions raised in this connection and send us, as early as possible, their replies and reactions.

There is one other matter to which I should like to draw your attention. This relates to the community projects. As I stated in my fortnightly letter, we have, on the whole, done rather well and in a number of cases we have done remarkably well. There are unfortunately a few States which

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 See *ante*, p 295

have remained backward.² No community project can make progress unless the State Government is directly interested in it and unless a capable Development Commissioner is appointed. If the State Government is not interested, then even the Development Commissioner can do little. The question then arises of whether it is worthwhile our wasting time, energy and money over a project which is making no progress at all because of lack of local interest. I think we shall have to consider this very seriously in regard to these backward projects. If the next month or so does not produce results or promise of results, then the right course appears to be to wind up that particular project and concentrate energy elsewhere.

One particular matter deserves special attention. The whole community projects administration has to function with efficiency and speed. It has to get out of the ruts of our normal administrative routine. For my part, I would like our entire administration to get out of those ruts, but for the moment I am considering the community projects only.

There are a number of delays which come in the way of our work. There is also the question of making a person responsible for the work entrusted to him. We should avoid these delays and we must fix responsibility. Very often, sanction for petty expenditure has to be obtained from headquarters or from the State Government. This could easily be avoided by giving authority to the Development Commissioner upto a certain limit. As Dr. Appleby has pointed out in his report, this business of sanctions is very often a cause of delay. The odd thing is that we pay little attention to the scrutiny of the work done. Most of our energy is spent at the sanctioning stage previously. I suggest

2 A full survey of the work done in community project areas was given by the commissioners in respect of 81 blocks on 17 April 1953. The progress showed uneven progress from region to region and even within regions. This was attributed to peculiar difficulties experienced in some areas. The survey also discussed questions relating to infrastructural facilities including training of personnel and people's participation.

to you, therefore, that your Government should authorize the Development Commissioner to go ahead with his work and give the necessary sanction for normal expenditure within the budget of the project. Your Government will of course see to it that this has been properly spent and results obtained.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Srinagar
24 May, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I feel very guilty in beginning this letter to you for I am writing to you after nearly five weeks since I sent you my last letter. That is a long gap and I have felt unhappy at my inability to write at the usual time. But I have been struggling hard against heavy accumulations of work. Parliament sat for most of this time and then I went away on a tour to Maharashtra.¹ Since my return from that tour, I have not fully succeeded in keeping pace with either events or important work, hard as I have tried to do so.

2 Every time I go out of Delhi for a few days, this means an accumulation of work. When I returned from the Maharashtra tour, I found that much had happened in the international sphere which demanded my instant and earnest attention. You must know of these developments and the change they have brought about in the international scene. But, even before I could deal with these matters, I had to face a curious and unhappy situation that had arisen between the two

1 From 28 April to 3 May 1953.

Houses of Parliament ² That is old history now and the events have obtained a good deal of publicity I shall not repeat them except to say that I was distressed to notice how relatively small matters can become big issues of conflict and absorb our time and energy, apart from the sense of ill will and disharmony that they create Any democratic constitution or structure demands a great deal of accommodation and co-operation from all concerned Indeed, democracy cannot work at all without self-help and co-operation Laws and constitutions are necessary, but no set of laws or constitutions can cover the whole field of human conduct And it would, indeed, be most unfortunate if they did, for life would then become a purely routine and dead affair The best of constitutions will fail if there is not the spirit to work them in the right way I hope, therefore, that this unhappy incident in Parliament will make us all think about these vital matters which are so important although they might not be written down in the articles of the constitution

3 The House of the People adjourned on the 15th May, the Council of States went on working for another two days. On the 16th and 17th May, we had a heavy session of the Congress Working Committee which dealt with important matters ³ You will have seen the resolutions passed and I would particularly draw your attention to those on social

2 Questions regarding the powers, privileges and rights of the Rajya Sabha were raised on 1 and 2 May when the Deputy Speaker agreeing with the Members in the Lok Sabha took exception to the Law Minister's statement in the Rajya Sabha questioning the authority and competence of the Speaker to certify the Indian Tax Amendment Bill as a Money Bill The Deputy Speaker's decision asking the Law Minister to be present when the Lok Sabha discussed the subject again on 6 May, was sharply criticized in the Rajya Sabha and a resolution was unanimously passed directing the Law Minister, who was a member of the Rajya Sabha, not to carry out the Deputy Speaker's decision Nehru on 6 May speaking in the Lok Sabha, calmed the feelings of both Houses with a soothing statement

3 The meeting on 16 and 17 May 1953 dealt with various matters such as foreign affairs, the language controversy, the Jammu agitation, the social and economic policy, and the Bihar Congress affairs

and economic policy⁴ and the Jammu agitation.⁵ Since then, I have been trying to get through as much work as possible before I leave for England. I shall do so on the 28th of this month and I expect to be away for about a month.⁶ This letter, therefore, will not be followed in the usual course and the next one will have to be sent to you after my return to India.

4. As a sense of fatigue stole over me and I did not wish to leave India carrying this burden of tiredness, I have come here to Kashmir for two days and I am writing this letter from Srinagar. It is perfect weather here and the air is exhilarating. I have no doubt that even two days here will make a difference to me.

5. My tour in Maharashtra was a great experience for me and I came back full of admiration for the sturdy peasantry of those areas who have faced scarcity and difficulty with courage and without complaining over much. They are a fine people and I felt then, as I have often felt before, how the peasants of India form the backbone of our country. My respect and affection for them grows and it has been the highest privilege of my life to experience the abundance of their faith and affection. A sense of humility seizes me at my own inadequacy in the face of this faith and affection. Whatever I can, I try to give them; but how far am I fulfilling our heavy duty and responsibility cast upon me? We sit in our chambers in New Delhi and work hard and try to think of the problems of India. Those problems come to us in

4 The resolution on social and economic policy called for efforts at accelerated pace to achieve the objective of full employment, the growth of cottage and village industries, such taxation measures as would reduce economic inequalities, simplification of the legal system, and social reform legislation such as the Hindu Code Bill. The resolution also welcomed the proposed national extension service scheme and the Estate Duty Bill.

5 The resolution condemned the Jammu agitation as reactionary and communal and called on Congressmen to counter the elements responsible for it.

6 Nehru returned to New Delhi on 27 June 1953.

notes and summaries and in statistics, all of which are important, and yet I sometimes feel that they miss out the human element. I said at a place in Maharashtra that there were 360 million problems in India, for each individual was a problem for us and his well-being our concern. That is rather a terrific way of looking at India's problems, and yet I think that it has a good deal of truth in it. For then we think of human beings and not of statistics.

6 I have visited, from time to time, various areas of scarcity where semi-famine conditions prevailed in Assam, in Bihar, in the U P, in Rayalaseema in Madras and lately in Maharashtra. There are, of course, others also and notably in certain parts of Rajasthan. Whenever I go to these areas, a sense of urgency fills me when I see human beings not getting their due from life. More particularly, I am distressed to see bright young children of India lacking food or clothing or shelter, not to mention education and health. Each such case produces a sense of failure in me, though I know that it is not possible to change the Indian scene by some magic wand to produce plenty out of poverty. It is not possible to solve the 360 million problems of India within any reasonable compass of time. But are we moving fast enough in that direction? If this generation is condemned to large-scale poverty and low standards, must the next generation also suffer in this way?

7. Immediately, of course, the problem of relief arises where distress is most obvious. There is a great difference in our dealing with this problem now from the way the old British Government dealt with it. Without meaning any ill to that Government, it must be recognized that its outlook in social and economic affairs was a very limited one. It took things as they were for granted and if famine occurred, it functioned in a routine way and set the old famine code in motion and gave some relief. We can never forget the death by starvation of 35 lakhs of persons in the Bengal famine ten years ago.

8 What a difference there is now! We have had to face

calamities and earthquakes and floods in an abnormal measure during the last six years. We have not been able to give all the relief that we should, but we have at least saved people from dying of starvation. We have given them food and work and at least prevented that type of major catastrophe which used to occur previously. That is some achievement, I think, and it indicates the new social conscience of the nation. Where such need arises, we must help to the utmost of our capacity and in this matter we have to think of India as a whole, each part helping the other.

9. This we have followed no doubt, but is the pace sufficient? Is it enough just to keep people from dying from starvation? Surely not. A welfare State, about which we talk so bravely, expects much more to be done. How then are we to do it? There is the Five Year Plan which, I am convinced, is a magnificent achievement and which must lay the foundation of all our future Plans. And yet, while the Five Year Plan gradually works itself out, human beings in large numbers, including helpless little children, drag on their miserable lives with little hope in the near future. Everywhere I have gone, they ask for work and there is a positive dislike to the dole. That is a healthy sentiment which I have admired, for it is through work alone that they can go ahead and the nation will prosper. Work has been provided to the utmost capacity of the States concerned. Yet a large field remains uncovered and there are no resources left to deal with it in the present or in the near future.

10. Even the Five Year Plan shows us that our estimated resources do not cover the expenditure we have to incur. There is a big gap which, we hope, will be covered by foreign loans or some internal effort, or both. There is no reason why we should not accept the foreign loans if there are no conditions attached. But for every benefit received, there is some moral obligation and living on benefits from outside tends to develop a sense of dependence on others, which is not a good thing. We have to strike a balance. It is clear that we must fulfil the Five Year Plan and, if possible, go further, whether foreign help comes adequately or not. If our present

methods do not yield the resources needed, we shall have to think seriously of changing that structure

11. The mass of unemployment in India rather terrifies me. What share have these unemployed in the welfare State that we are building up? And how can they have a sense of partnership in it? There is no lack of people willing and able to work and to produce if only we give them the opportunity to do so. The enthusiasm shown in many States in doing voluntary work has been surprising and most heartening. But voluntary labour, good as it is and to be encouraged, does not provide the purchasing power which those people need. It is only greater purchasing power leading to greater consumption which will ultimately help production. The problem then is how we can marry the unemployed to productive and preferably developmental work.

12. Recently some members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U S House of Representatives visited India. They have produced a report of their tour to India, Pakistan, Thailand and Indo-China.⁷ Quite apart from the correctness of their appraisal, it is interesting to note the reactions on foreign observers of our structure and policies. In describing the governmental structure, they referred to the powers of the States. They go on to say "The extent of popular participation and control at the State level of government varies widely. The main pressure groups are landed interests, commercial groups, and language groups. The first two have the greater influence, as most members of State Legislatures hitherto have represented landed, industrial or commercial interests. As a result, the State Governments have tended to be conservative in character, sometimes resisting the implementation of reform measures included in the platform of the ruling Indian National Congress Party."

13. I do not think this is a correct appraisal, but nevertheless

7 A report on the visit in April 1953 was presented to the U S Congress on 6 May 1953.

it is significant that rather conservative Members of the U.S. Congress should describe our State Governments in this way and call them conservative in outlook and governed largely by pressure groups from landed interests and commercial groups. It is often a good thing to try to see ourselves as others see us. We get so used ourselves to our environment that we do not notice any peculiarity in it. How far is it true then that our Governments, Central or State, are influenced much by what might be called the conservative or vested interests in our society? We talk of the people. What are the people? The vast mass of peasants and industrial workers and landless labour appear somewhere in the background while special interests come to the front and make themselves heard. It would be a tragedy if we forgot the principal urge of the national movement that we are supposed to represent. That urge was always in favour of this vast mass of the common people and we have repeatedly declared that no private or vested interest should come in the way of progress of these people. Do we act up to that declaration and assurance? Or are we gradually slipping away from it and forgetting our main task? It is a painful thought that foreigners should think that our Governments resist the reforms advocated by the Congress. Our Governments exist because of the Congress and are therefore called Congress Governments. Governments have to be more realistic than popular organizations. But if they slide away from our basic platform and pledges, they will lose their influence and be accused of a betrayal of those pledges. The old cry of *swadeshi* is hardly heard now, although it supplied not only an economic, but a psychological need. So also old slogans fade away. It is for this reason that I asked for your special attention to the resolution on social and economic policy recently passed by the Congress Working Committee. That resolution is rather general and perhaps rather inadequate. But it does point to a certain direction and we must never forget to look in that direction. There is a tendency to look upon industrial labour as something rather hostile to the State and to be guarded against. It is true that sometimes .

organized labour is troublesome. But if we cannot carry organized labour with us and give it a sense of partnership in all our undertakings, we shall not go far. That would be so in any democratic State, but much more so in our State with our background.

14 Generally speaking, the interests of the Services are kept before us. That is right. But the lower ranks of the Services perhaps are not considered in the same way. In the British period, one might well say that the State was essentially a Service State or rather a State in which the Services played a predominant part and where their interests were specially safeguarded. We have continued those guarantees, though they hardly fit into a democratic structure and they produce that sense of class division which is the base of all our social structure. Even Dr Appleby, to whose report I drew your attention, has pointed out how bad this system of division into horizontal classes is. There has to be a division of responsibility according to merit and capacity. There should be no other division or classification.

15 During the last month or more, in fact since Stalin's death, there have been new and sometimes surprising developments both in Soviet Russia and in China. Russia has taken many steps internally, and, to some extent externally, which clearly indicate her desire to lessen the world tension. China, after rejecting our Korean resolution in the U N, has gradually veered round to almost that position. There is much speculation as to what all this means and what the motive behind it is. That motive is anybody's guess, but the fact of an effort to ease tension and to go towards a settlement is clear enough and there appears to be no reason whatever why we should not take advantage of that fact and not be led away by fears and apprehension.

16 The turn that international events have taken has brought India more into the picture and cast a heavy responsibility upon her. The independent policy that we have pursued and our constant attempts to remain friendly with all countries have borne fruit. The Great Powers look

upon us with respect and realize that what we say will be listened to by many. Hence, they have to listen to it also. We remain the principal link between these rival blocs. The fact of our political and economic stability and the earnest attempt that we are making to better our conditions by the Five Year Plan and other methods has also impressed the world. The result, no doubt, is pleasing to us, but it is also disturbing, because of the additional responsibility cast upon us. In the Korean deadlock, attempts are made on both sides to utilize India's services to help to resolve it.

17. The Chinese Government, after a brief period of cold and distant relations with us, because of our resolution at the U.N., has gradually become more and more friendly again and recently has approached us in the friendliest way, seeking our help in the cause, as they put it, of peace and freedom. Their new proposals⁸ are a very near approximation to our own resolution and one would have thought that a settlement in Korea was very near. But just then the U.S. Government put forward a new set of proposals⁹ which opened up the question anew. In moderate and friendly language we pointed out that the latest Chinese proposals being so near the U.N. position, should form the basis of a settlement, with such variations as might be needed.

8 On 8 May, the Communists submitted proposals according to which the custody of such prisoners as had not yet exercised their choice of repatriation would vest with a neutral repatriation commission of five countries, and the prisoners were to be kept in Korea for a period of four months. Earlier, the Communists had on 26 April rejected the U.N. Command's proposal of 17 April to hand over all such prisoners to Switzerland for sixty days.

9 On 13 May 1953, the United States proposed that the repatriation commission should take custody of non-Koreans only and that all Koreans refusing repatriation should be freed as civilians after the declaration of an armistice. It also suggested that the commission should function only for sixty days under the chairmanship of India, with the armed and other personnel provided by her. These proposals were rejected by the Communists on 16 May.

18 You will remember that the main stumbling block for many months in the way of a Korean armistice was the argument about compulsory repatriation of P O.W.s, or of voluntary repatriation. The Chinese insisted on the former, while the U.S. and other countries were equally firm about the latter. The Geneva Convention, on the whole, supported the Chinese contention. Our resolution at the U.N., while adhering to the Geneva Convention, gave scope to the voluntary principle in the sense that no one should be forced to go against his will. The Chinese have now practically given up their position in this respect and, therefore, the main stumbling block is gone and only a few relatively minor differences remain. If there is a will to peace, there is no difficulty in overcoming these remaining obstacles.

19. It seems that, apart from some internal opinion in the U.S., what is called the Chinese lobby there, the real obstruction comes from Chiang Kai-shek of Formosa and Syngman Rhee¹⁰ of Korea. Both these persons evidently think that war is the only solution, if any, of their problems and therefore they are averse to any peaceful settlement. President Syngman Rhee issues all kinds of threats to withdraw his forces from South Korea¹¹ and the U.S. Government is rather frightened by them. At the same time, obviously, Syngman Rhee has no chance whatever without the effective support of the U.N. and, more especially, the U.S. It is an extraordinary situation that world war and peace should depend on the wishes and personal fortunes of persons like Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek.

10 Syngman Rhee (1875-1965) Served while in exile as the elected President of the Korean Provisional Government, 1919-1939, President of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), 1948-60

11 Rhee threatened on 24 April to withdraw the South Korean forces from the United Nations Command if the armistice allowed Chinese forces to remain in Korea. He also informed General Clark that he would not allow the transfer of non-repatriate Korean prisoners to a neutral country or allow Indian troops to enter Korea in any capacity

20. Considerable pressure is being exercised by a number of European and other Powers in favour of accepting the recent Chinese proposals as the basis.¹² I believe that this pressure is having some effect, though how far this will go, I do not know. Probably, in the course of a day or two fresh proposals¹³ will be put forward by General Harrison¹⁴ at Panmunjom.

21. Another anomaly in the international scene can be witnessed in Indo-China as well as, to some extent, in French Northern Africa. In both places, the U.S.A. are supporting French colonial administrations against powerful movements seeking freedom. They do so because they say that in Indo-China the alternative is the spread of communism and, secondly because, for other reasons, they do not wish to break with the French. The U.S. authorities go on saying that they are entirely opposed to colonialism and yet, in practice, circumstances have led them to support it. The result is that they have been outmanoeuvred and the liberation movement in Indo-China, which is essentially nationalist, is controlled by Communist elements. The recent incursion into Laos had, undoubtedly, a nationalist origin, though it might have been helped by other elements.¹⁵

¹² For example, on 16 May 1953, Churchill stated that the Communist peace plan deserved "patient and sympathetic examination"

¹³ The U N Command's new proposals of 25 May 1953 provided for the transfer of all prisoners to the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. It also provided extension upto a maximum of 120 days of the period for further consideration by all such prisoners who had not yet decided on their repatriation. Further, all such prisoners who finally decided not to get repatriated were to be released as civilians or another reference made about them to the United Nations

¹⁴ Lt Gen William K Harrison

¹⁵ Viet Minh troops co-operating with the Laotian guerrillas entered Laos in mid-April 1953, but withdrew in the first week of May after the Franco-Laotian forces recaptured the larger part of the annexed territory. The Viet Minh forces however retained control over a considerable area of northern Laos

In Morocco¹⁶ and Tunisia,¹⁷ there are no Communists to speak of and there is purely nationalist movement and yet the French are crushing it with all their force.

22. It is these contradictions that weaken very greatly the policy of the Western Powers. While speaking in the name of freedom, they have sided in many places with colonialism and reaction. Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dai¹⁸ have a past, they have no future. To try to give them a future is to try to reverse the current of history.

23. In Egypt, the situation is very bad and we appear to be on the eve of a military conflict between the British forces and the Egyptian Government. Both have dug their toes in and yet the basic differences now are not very great. There is just a chance that some accommodation might be reached. It is a feeble chance. It may well be that after a few weeks or so there might be a flare up in Egypt. How that can solve any problem, it is not easy to say.

24. Britain recognized the new world that was growing up and dealt wisely with India, Burma and Ceylon. But somehow that exhausted that particular stock of wisdom. She has been in trouble in Malaya for six years now, has been in trouble all over the Middle East and is now facing a severe crisis in Egypt. In Kenya, the situation is a most painful one with murder and massacre going on on either side. Of course, the capacity of the State for this is greater than that of the poor Africans. In particular, the European settlers there have lost all sense of perspective and so trouble continues and is likely to do so, for no amount of repression would put

16 The Muslim Religious Brotherhood Party and the other conservative political groups, opposed to the reformist activities of Sultan Sidi Mohammad ben Youssef, petitioned the French authorities on 21 May 1953 to depose him. The Sultan was already disliked by the French Government for intensifying the national movement in Morocco since 1952.

17 The demands for political reform in Tunisia, conceded partially by the French in December 1952, led to an intensification of the campaign.

18 For b. In see Vol 2, p 16

an end to the powerful urges which influence the African people.

25. For a variety of reasons, the relations of India and Pakistan are more friendly or less unfriendly than they have been at any time during the past five or six years. We must welcome that and take advantage of it. I shall meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan in London, but we cannot obviously discuss anything in detail there. That will have to remain till our return. Meanwhile, arrangements have been made for official discussions to take place in India or Pakistan, or both alternately, over the whole field of Indo-Pakistan affairs. I earnestly hope that this will yield results.

26. Three distinguished Americans have recently visited India and I have had long and frank talks with them. These were Mr Adlai Stevenson,¹⁹ Mr. Dulles²⁰ and Mr. Stassen.²¹ In some places demonstrations were organized against Mr. Dulles, the American Secretary of State, and he was asked to "go back".²² Anything more foolish and misguided than this I find it difficult to imagine. Some of our people do not seem to realize that we are a free country dealing with representatives of other free countries on an equal basis. They suffer still from the hangover of the past and think in terms of the Simon Commission and the like. They talk of a Big Power Conference and even suggest that India should invite this. That surely means that eminent statesmen of other countries should confer among themselves and possibly with India. If we refuse to confer with any of these important

19 (1905-1965) Assistant Secretary of State, 1945; Governor of Illinois, 1948-52; Democratic presidential candidate in 1952 and 1956 but lost on both occasions, U S Ambassador to U N., 1960-65. He visited India from 28 April to 14 May 1953.

20 He visited from 20 to 22 May 1953. For b fn. see Vol. 2, p 567.

21 Harold E. Stassen (b 1907) American lawyer and politician; Governor of Minnesota, 1938-42, Director, Foreign Operations Administration, 1953-55; Special Assistant to U S President on disarmament problems, 1955-58.

22 There were demonstrations against Dulles in Bombay, Kanpur and Delhi between 20 and 22 May 1953.

representatives, then there is no question of any conference or even of any diplomatic talks on a high level. To talk with others does not mean agreement with them. In fact, such talks usually take place because there is a difference in outlook. These demonstrations against Mr. Dulles were organized by the Communist Party. I have little to say to them because their objectives and methods are completely alien to us. But I was surprised to find some other persons joining these demonstrations²³. This indicated complete immaturity of political thinking. We are, and are recognized to be, a mature nation and we should function as such.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To protest against the visit of Dulles, a public meeting in Delhi was addressed on 15 May 1953, among others by a Congress Member of Parliament

New Delhi
2 July, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I returned from Europe on the 27th of June, five days ago, and I have a multitude of subjects in my mind about which I should like to write to you. I could write about the coronation in London¹ and the numerous ceremonies and spectacles that accompanied it, the Prime Ministers' Conference and the subjects discussed there,² the conference of four heads of missions held in Burgenstock in Switzerland³, my visit to Egypt⁴ soon after the declaration of the Republic there,⁵ and the ups and downs of the Korean situation⁶ and the new burdens that have been cast upon us

1 On 2 June, Queen Elizabeth II was crowned at Westminster Abbey.

2 The conference from 3 to 9 June, besides reviewing the situation in Korea, the problems in West Asia, and the economic developments within the Commonwealth, discussed the prospects at the forthcoming Bermuda Conference of the heads of the Governments of Britain, U.S.A., and France

3 From 17 to 20 June 1953

4 From 23 to 25 June 1953

5 On 18 June, when Egypt was proclaimed a Republic, all royal titles were abolished and General Neguib and Abdel Nasser became President and Vice-President and assumed the duties of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Interior also respectively

6 The South Korean Government had rejected on 25 May the proposed agreement on repatriation of prisoners of war, and dissatisfied with the U.S. attitude released 25,000 North Korean prisoners. On 24 June, Nehru asked the President of the U.N. General Assembly to convene an emergency session to discuss the complicity of the U.N. Command in the release of the prisoners

in relation to it.⁷ I could also tell you about my meeting the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and Ceylon in London, and there are other developments in foreign countries which deserve our attention. In Cambodia, where the King⁸ is playing a leading part in demanding independence from French colonial authority,⁹ in Kenya, where the situation continues to be most painful¹⁰ and terror has been met by overwhelming terror, in Morocco¹¹ and Tunisia,¹² where the nationalist movements are being suppressed with harshness and severity by the French authorities. In Nepal a new Government has been formed,¹³ but the situation is far from satisfactory or stable.

2. I need hardly refer to internal events during the past month because you must know more about them than I do. An outstanding event which saddened my home-coming was the death of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee.¹⁴ He died

7 On 12 June, India announced her decision to serve on the Reparation Commission and provide necessary forces and personnel to discharge its responsibilities. See also *ante*, p. 313.

8 Norodom Sihanouk (b. 1924) Head of the State of Kampuchea, 1941-55, 1960-70, 1975-76, Premier, 1952-60, Head of the State in exile of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea since 1982.

9 Dissatisfied with the agreement with France signed on 9 May 1953 as it fell short of full independence, Sihanouk resumed the struggle against France, who reinforced her armies in Kampuchea on 26 June to fight the movement.

10 On 8 June the Kenya African Union was declared unlawful by the Government.

11 See *ante*, p. 314.

12 Following the arrests by the French in June 1953 of several political leaders and trade unionists, the loyalist heir presumptive to the Bey of Tunis was assassinated on 1 July.

13 An all-party Government formed on 15 June by M. P. Koirala, the leader of the National Democratic Party, which replaced the Government run by the King and his advisers since August 1952, was described on 20 June by the Nepali Congress as "undemocratic."

14 Arrested in May 1953, Mookerjee died in detention in Srinagar on 23 June 1953.

suddenly and, because of that suddenness, all kinds of doubts and fears were raised and allegations made.¹⁵ It is so easy to be wise after an event I can speak with personal knowledge that the Kashmir Government treated Dr Mookerjee, while in detention, with the greatest courtesy and gave him every possible facility. He was given a lovely private villa by the side of the Dal Lake and, to all appearances, he kept well there. No one suspected for a moment that his illness, when it came, was serious. It was only late in the evening that this assumed a serious character and within a few hours he was dead. The fact that Dr. Mookerjee himself sent telegrams to his relatives in Calcutta from the hospital some hours before his death, telling them not to worry, is clear indication of how neither he nor others realized that the end was near. I think that it is very unfair to blame the Kashmir Government on this score. As a matter of fact, the Kashmir Government had decided to release him by the end of the month.

3. My visit abroad has helped me, as it always does, to look at things in broader perspective. From there, even more than from India, I realized how utterly wrong and injurious was the Praja Parishad-Jan Sangh agitation about Jammu and Kashmir. No one abroad understood it. It seemed to them an indication of a narrowness and exceedingly limited outlook, the type of outlook that has brought Pakistan near disaster. No one abroad attached the slightest importance to this agitation, except in so far as it showed some weaknesses in our body politic. Another thing that was evident from abroad was the danger of provincialism. This again is evidence of narrowness in outlook, of forgetting big things

¹⁵ V.M. Trivedi, counsel for Mookerjee, and Guru Dutt Vaid, a co-detenu, alleged on 27 June that proper medical attention had been denied to Mookerjee. On 1 July, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh of West Bengal called for observance of the All-India Syama Prasad Day on 15 July to demand an enquiry into the circumstances leading to Mookerjee's death. The demand was supported by Purushottam Das Tandon and Jayaprakash Narayan.

for small, and an immaturity of political thinking. That does not mean that there should not be a reorganization of our States, but it does mean that the background of this agitation proceeds from a limited and narrow outlook, injurious to the best interests of India. It surprises me that men of ability should get swept away by this disintegrating tendency.

4. So far as we are concerned, we have declared quite clearly that after the Andhra State is well established, we shall appoint a high-powered Commission to consider the question of reorganization of States in all its many aspects. We do not propose to consider the question of one State separately now. Indeed this cannot be so considered because in every such instance many States are concerned. Nor do we propose to consider this matter on the purely linguistic plane, although language and culture are necessarily important. So also are other considerations. In spite of my clear declaration about such a Commission, I find that agitations continue in some parts of the country and sometimes people indulge in what are called hunger strikes. If this country and its policies are going to be controlled or influenced in this manner, then indeed we may say goodbye to any kind of progress or unity. So far as I am concerned, I do not propose to have our Government's policy influenced in the slightest by these methods. Nor do I propose to take up the case of any single linguistic State. I am surprised that suddenly some people should have galvanized themselves into activity in regard to Hyderabad state and demanded its disintegration. Why they have chosen this particular moment to do this is not clear to me, unless it bears some relation to the formation of the Andhra State. I am sorry for this because it denotes an outlook with which I have no sympathy whatever and which, I am sure, if given free play, would bring utter chaos, in a great part of India and lead to other disastrous consequences also. It is a matter of deep regret to me that



At A.I.C.C. session, Hyderabad, 14 January 1953



With U Nu at Singkaling, Burma, 31 March 1953



With Winston Churchill, London, 7 June 1953



With General Neguib and Colonel Nasser, Cairo, 24 June 1953



With Ghulam Mohammad and Mahomed Ali, Karachi, 25 July 1953



Vice-President S Radhakrishnan at M P.s cricket benefit match,
New Delhi, 12 September 1953

Congressmen and even Congress committees have fallen into this trap ¹⁶

5 We shall therefore pursue our way in this matter as stated and will not be hustled by hunger strikes, attacks on railways and the like or other methods to coerce Government.¹⁷ If the people of India consider that this matter of such vital importance has to be given precedence over all other questions, even to the detriment of our progress, then they will have to find some other Government to help them to do so. I cannot be responsible for taking a step which, I am convinced, means injury to the cause of India and to everything that I have cherished and worked for.

6. The final ascent of Everest has been a great achievement in which all of us should take pride ¹⁸ Here again there has been pettiness and the narrowest type of nationalism shown by some people. Controversies have arisen as to whether Tenzing¹⁹ got there first or Hillary²⁰ and whether Tenzing is an Indian national or a Nepalese national.²¹ I was amazed to learn of these disputes and the excitement shown over them. It does not make the slightest difference to anybody whether Tenzing first reached the top or Hillary. Neither could have

16 On 3 June, the Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee, welcoming the formation of the Andhra Province, demanded Hyderabad's merger with areas of linguistic contiguity.

17. There were violent demonstrations in Bellary and in Madras in the middle of June to protest against the inclusion of certain areas in the proposed Andhra State.

18 The first ascent of Mount Everest was achieved on 29 May 1953.

19 Tenzing Norgay (1914-1986) Sherpa who successfully climbed several peaks in the Himalayas including Mount Everest in 1953, Director, Himalayan Mountaineering Institute at Darjeeling from 1954 till his death, awarded Padma Bhushan, 1959.

20 Sir Edmund Percival Hillary (b 1919) Mountaineer and explorer from New Zealand; climbed Mount Everest with Tenzing on 29 May 1953, participated in the Antarctic expedition, 1956-58, High Commissioner to India since 1985.

21. On 24 June, Tenzing stated that he was an Indian citizen.

done so without the help of the other. Indeed, both of them could not have done so without the help of the whole party, and if I may take this idea a little further, the whole party could not have done so without the accumulated experience, labour and sacrifice of all their predecessors who tried to reach the top of Everest. Great human achievements are always the result of combined endeavours in which numerous people take part. It may be that one person takes the last step, but the other persons also count and should not be forgotten. For us to show a narrow and deplorable nationalism in such matters is not to add to the credit of our country but to lead people to think that we are petty in outlook and suffering from some kind of inferiority complex.

7 I have had the pleasure of meeting the Everest party and, in particular, Tenzing. Tenzing is a fine man. But I greatly fear that the uncontrolled adulation that has been thrust upon him might well spoil him and make him unfit for any great work in the future. I hope he will survive it. To honour him and praise him is right but to show an uncontrollable excitement and try to make this as if it was some national achievement only is not becoming for us.

8 I venture to write to you this because I have been watching, with restrained pride and pleasure as well as evergrowing sense of responsibility and humility, the growth of India's prestige in the world. It is not for us to talk about this and I have deliberately not attempted to praise India or to say much about any success that she may have achieved in her policy. That praise will remain locked up in my mind and heart and will give me strength for greater effort in the cause of the country we hold dear. Why should we talk of this to others? It is for others to do so, if they so choose. Facts are more important than praise or blame, and facts are compelling the world to give a new status and position to India in the larger scheme of things. But this, though pleasing, is also a little terrifying, for it brings tremendous responsibilities in its train. Are we, with all our

petty controversies about linguistic provinces and communal agitations and casteism and Tenzing and Hillary quite big enough to shoulder these responsibilities which are coming to us so swiftly and extensively? It is well that we think of this in all humility of spirit.

9. You must have followed the course of events in Korea, the success attained at long last in regard to the prisoners of war issue, which seemed to remove the final obstacle to an armistice.²² As soon as this was achieved, I ventured to send my congratulations both to President Eisenhower and the Chinese Government.²³ Everyone thought that the last hurdle had been crossed, and this insensate slaughter of men in Korea was going to stop. But everyone, or almost everyone, had forgotten Dr Syngman Rhee. It is curious that, when history is on the march, some persons, encouraged and abetted by Great Powers, should try to stop that onward march. These persons—Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, Bao Dai—belong to the past that is done with; they have no place in the future. History has passed them by and yet attempts are made to hold on to them and to shut our eyes to reality. It was this deliberate shutting of eyes to the reality of the new Chinese Republic that has led to many subsequent disasters. No effective policy can be framed on unreality, much less so in this vast changing world.

10 Syngman Rhee's action²⁴ was most embarrassing to the U N Command and the U.S A., and indirectly to the United Nations itself. Was the U.N Command in control of South

22 The agreement signed on 8 June provided for prisoners who wished to return home to do so within sixty days, but those refusing repatriation had to offer "explanations" to their home Governments in the presence of the representatives of the neutral commission within ninety days and decision was to be announced on them at a political conference within the next thirty days. Thereafter, the unrepatriated prisoners were to be declared as civilians and the neutral commission would help in their rehabilitation.

23 On 8 June 1953

24 He had released the North Korean prisoners on 18 June.

Korea or not? How could an armistice be signed with the U N Command when they did not control the situation? There could be no armistice for $\frac{2}{5}$ ths of the front and not for the remaining $\frac{3}{5}$ ths. All manner of such questions arose and logically the position of the Chinese and the North Korean Government has been strong. The terms of the Agreement signed by them with the U N Command have been broken by persons who are supposed to be under the U N. Command. All this has brought out the weakness of the U N. position not only now but previously and has shown how the U.N. has got itself entangled in wrong courses of action.

11. I imagine that an armistice will be signed, though there are still obstacles in the way. The real reason is that there is no stomach for fighting left in any of the parties. And yet the latest news indicates that the chances of a truce in Korea are receding. The only way to make Dr Syngman Rhee see reason was for the United States to take up a strong line with him. Instead, it appears that they have tried to appease him by all kinds of assurances for the future. Syngman Rhee has taken advantage of this soft attitude and has made impossible demands.²⁵ Probably we shall know, in the course of the next week, what the outcome of all these talks is going to be. If, by some misfortune, an armistice is not signed and war goes on, then that war itself will be different from what it has thus far been. The U N, as an organization, may withdraw from it. It is highly likely that the U K., Canada, and other countries, who have sent troops to Korea, may withdraw their forces. The U S forces might remain together with, of course, the South Korean forces which have been trained and equipped.

²⁵ On 23 June, Rhee informed General Clark that he would agree to an armistice if the U S A. concluded a mutual defence pact with South Korea, U N and Chinese forces were withdrawn from Korea, and a political conference was held within 90 days of the signing of armistice. The next day, he declared that he would not allow Indian troops to land in Korea as India was "pro-Communist."

by the U.S.A. All this will produce a confusing situation not at all to the advantage of the western allies.

12 The divergence in the policies of the United States and of the West European countries becomes more and more apparent. On the one hand, there is a strong feeling that on no account must there be a break between them and perhaps this feeling will prevail in the end. On the other hand, both the political and the economic policies of the U.S. are not approved of by the United Kingdom, France and other countries. This dilemma has continually to be faced. On the economic front, these West European countries do not like the idea of continued dependence upon the U.S. and are trying to lessen that dependence. They have not succeeded thus far. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer²⁶ went to the United States sometime ago²⁷ to induce them to change their economic policies without success. The Chancellor, Mr. Butler, used a significant phrase in the Prime Ministers' Conference. He said that he had gone to America to explain "the facts of life" to the American authorities, but even those obvious facts were ignored. There is a growing feeling in Europe for a reduction in U.S. tariffs and for trade between the western and eastern part of it, just as there is a growing feeling for trade with China. But America comes in the way and does not approve of this.

13 Although peace in Korea is still uncertain, and we do not propose to send anyone to Korea till an armistice is signed, we are, nevertheless, making all necessary preparations at our end. We have to choose a member of the Neutral Powers' Repatriation Commission, who will function as the chairman and executive authority of the Commission. We

26 R. A. First Baron, Butler (1902-1982) Conservative Member of Parliament, 1929-65, Under-Secretary of State, India Office, 1932-37, for Foreign Affairs, 1938-41; Minister of Education, 1941-45, Chancellor of Exchequer, 1951-55, Leader of the House of Commons, 1955-61, Home Secretary, 1957-62, Deputy Prime Minister, 1962-63; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1963-64.

27 4-7 March 1953.

have to choose a considerable staff for him also. Then we are responsible for the guarding of the prisoners of war and will have to send our armed forces for this purpose. It is not clear how many will be required because we do not know definitely how many prisoners of war will remain over after the first transfer. Thirdly, the Indian Red Cross will be responsible for all kinds of Red Cross work there in connection with the prisoners of war. Sir Winston Churchill, as indeed many others, congratulated me on the unique honour done to us in that all the opposing parties have put their faith in us.

14. In the Prime Ministers' Conference we had frank talks. Naturally we differed about our approach and I made it perfectly clear that we could not tie ourselves up with N.A.T.O. or any like organization. I laid special stress on Asia and Africa and asked for a clearer understanding on the part of Europe and America of the dynamic and even explosive position in parts of these continents. Without referring to any particular aspect, I spoke feelingly about conditions in Africa and the way the nationalist upsurge was being suppressed there. I said much to this effect on some public occasions also, though I used a restrained language as was becoming for a Minister when referring to other countries. I believe that my words produced a considerable impression both on the Commonwealth Governments and the British people.

15. The question of Egypt was also discussed there and Sir Winston Churchill was very angry at the aggressive speeches made by the Egyptian leaders. I did not go into any details about the Egyptian negotiations, but I think that the work we did was helpful in toning down the respective attitudes and in lessening denunciation on both sides. The language used now is milder and more friendly and there is a general expectation that negotiations in regard to the Canal base in Egypt will be resumed. It has been our privilege to have received appreciation both from the Egyptian authorities and from Sir Winston Churchill in this matter.

16. I might mention that, generally speaking, the Prime

Ministers of Pakistan and Ceylon adopted more or less the same line in these matters as we did.

17. The changes in Soviet policy were discussed and the question was asked, as it is often asked, whether these indicated a real or basic change or were merely tactical approaches. I had no doubt about the answer. I am convinced that they do represent a definite change of policy, though that does not mean of course that the Soviet Union has given up its basic Communist policy or approach. I have no doubt that the Soviet Union wants peace and more co-operative relations with other countries. So also China. I reminded the Prime Ministers' Conference that just as they were doubtful about the *bonafides* of the Soviet Union and China, the latter two countries were doubtful about the *bonafides* of the U S. specially as well as, to some extent, of other Western countries. I gave them instances which somewhat justified the doubts of the Soviet Union and China. The last instance of Syngman Rhee breaking the P.O.W.s agreement has been very much to the point. The fact is that there is a great deal of mutual suspicion and fear and it can only be got over gradually.

18 My talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan were very general, as they were intended to be at that stage. Reference was made to the problems we faced, such as canal waters, evacuee property, East and West Bengal, and Kashmir. Mr. Mohammed Ali took up a friendly attitude and expressed his eagerness for a settlement. He pointed out that his position in Pakistan was not a very strong one and he had to suffer many limitations. He was a newcomer to his task and had to face many difficulties. After our general talk, we decided to meet again in India or Pakistan. From some points of view it was better to meet in Delhi. Mr. Mahomed Ali was perfectly agreeable to doing so, but he pressed me to go to Karachi even for a day or two and then later he would come to Delhi for longer talks. He said that my visit to Karachi would strengthen his position and generally create a favourable atmosphere in Pakistan. I agreed to go there, but I could not fix a date. Probably I shall go there about the fourth week of July for a day or two.

19. The Kashmir problem has been a difficult one. Those difficulties have increased because of internal troubles in Kashmir state. Indeed, our general position in regard to Kashmir is necessarily weak if internally we are not strong enough in Kashmir. I am troubled about these developments which are not only embarrassing but are very harmful for the future of Kashmir, unless they are tackled successfully.

20. In my talks with the Ceylon Prime Minister, certain tentative proposals were put forward on his behalf. Broadly speaking, these were that out of a total of 950,000 people of Indian descent there, 400,000 should be made Ceylon nationals and 250,000 should be given, what are called permanent residence permits. These permanent residence permit holders would be in a curious position. They would not have the right to vote, but they would have all other citizenship privileges. Obviously, this was some kind of an interim measure, and, though there was no guarantee, it was almost inevitable that they should later become full citizens of Ceylon. This left 300,000 persons to be dealt with. Of these, about 150,000 are considered Indian nationals and may be excluded, leaving 150,000. The real trouble was about these 150,000 whom the Ceylon Government wants ultimately to push out of Ceylon. I told the Ceylon Prime Minister that pushing out these people in considerable numbers would create a grave situation both for India and for Ceylon. Indeed, it would upset even those who stayed behind in Ceylon. The whole object of a peaceful settlement would vanish. I realized his difficulties. I suggested, however, that he should increase the number of permanent residence permits to 300,000, and give an assurance that the others remaining over will not be pushed out for a fixed period, say, ten years, after which they may gradually be dealt with. Of course, if anyone of them went away of his own accord, he need not be allowed to come back. In the alternative, I was prepared to accept a figure of 250,000 for permanent residence permit holders but the others should be guaranteed that they would be allowed to stay in Ceylon for life, unless they themselves went away.

21. The Ceylon Prime Minister was unable to accept my variation of his proposals at that time. He said he would have to consult his colleagues. There the matter ended for the time-being. We need not call this a break and we shall continue to try our best to reach a settlement.

22. It was noticeable that both Pakistan and Ceylon were influenced by the new status that India was gaining in international affairs and this was a further inducement to them to have friendly settlements with India. Indeed they said so.

23. The conference of our heads of missions at Burgenstock in Switzerland was a very useful one and I believe all of us, who attended it, profited by it. Our Ambassadors and Ministers abroad, even though they keep in constant touch with us by letter and telegram, tend to become isolated. We, at headquarters, also tend to take a partial view. Therefore to meet together and discuss fully the important problems that confront us is helpful for both. We had long discussions for three full days. We met at a rather critical moment in world affairs and tried to understand the backgrounds of various European countries. Just then the upheaval which shook East Germany took place.²⁸ That itself was very significant and with far-reaching consequences.

24. On my return journey, I spent three days in Cairo. I was received with the greatest courtesy by General Neguib and his colleagues and even the Egyptian people were kind and friendly to me whenever I passed them in the public streets. Only three or four days before my arrival, the change to a Republic had taken place there. In effect, this did not mean any change, as the ruling group and even the same individuals continued. Nevertheless, the change came rather unexpectedly just then. I had long talks not only with

²⁸ Concessions announced by the East German Government had not pacified the workers who staged violent demonstrations on 16 June to protest against the orders of 10 June asking them to increase production by 10 per cent without assurance of corresponding increase in their wages or changes in the norms of production.

General Neguib, but with his Council of the Revolution, which is the final authority in Egypt now. This Council consists of youngish men and is entirely military. On the whole, they struck me favourably as earnest and enthusiastic young men, though very inexperienced. During a trip on the River Nile I sat with the whole Council and we discussed various matters at some length. It was not right or proper for me to offer advice in regard to their internal matters or even their external problems. I talked to them of our own struggle for freedom in India, the methods we adopted, the objectives we kept before us, both political and economic, and how we gradually built up the strength of the nation under Gandhiji's guidance. I think my talk with them produced considerable effect. There is no doubt that in Egypt, as well as in the entire Middle East, India is looked up to, to some extent, as a guide and a friend. We are beginning to function as a kind of elder brother. That again brings additional responsibilities upon us which we can only discharge if we always look at things as a whole and in longer perspective and not lose ourselves in petty conflicts. Our domestic policy has a powerful effect on our international position.

25. You must be aware that we have closed our Legation in Lisbon.²⁹ It served no useful purpose and our closing of it is at least some gesture to signify our strong disapproval of the Portuguese policy in regard to Goa. This should not lead you to think that any further dramatic moves are in prospect. Certainly, we should not allow the situation to become static. But it is better to proceed cautiously, step by step, whether in Goa or in Pondicherry. That may not be very pleasing to many of our people who want quick results and the assertion of the national will, but I think that, in the confused world situation today, it is better for us to move slowly though firmly. Generally it is recognized that both the Portuguese and the French possessions must come to India. Even Sir Winston Churchill said so to me and

remarked on the extreme backwardness of the Portuguese thought. The fact is that Portugal has played no important part in international affairs for hundreds of years. Therefore, they go back to what they consider their period of glory, the days of Vasco da Gama, etc. They live in those days still and seek to derive solace from that memory.

26 As for the French Government, you have seen how difficult it has been even to form a Government in Paris ³⁰ The whole French situation is fluid and the war in Indo-China is bleeding France terribly. The French, in spite of everything, still remain the keenest and most logical of thinkers. But those who think do not always find a high place in politics and there are still memories of French military glory and imperial adventure. It is not easy to shed these illusions. I am much distressed by the way the French Government have dealt with the situation in Morocco and Tunisia. There is severe repression there and all prominent leaders are imprisoned. Even the Sultan of Morocco³¹ is in a precarious position because he favours the nationalist movement. In Egypt, I came across representatives of Morocco and Tunisia who expressed their gratitude for the moral help given to them by India.

27. We have at present a Burmese Mission in Delhi discussing trade and like matters. I hope that this will lead to a satisfactory settlement ³² From every point of view, both political and economic, it is important that our relations with Burma should be close and intimate. Fortunately, political relations are exceedingly good and Burma has a leader in Prime Minister U Nu, who is of high quality and

³⁰ The resignation of Rene Mayer as Prime Minister on 21 May was followed by a prolonged crisis when France was without a government for five weeks. On 26 June, Joseph Laniel formed a Ministry with the support of all parties except the Socialists and the Communists.

³¹ Sultan Sidi Mohammad ben Yousef (1911-1961) Sultan of Morocco, 1927-1953 and 1955-1957, redesignated as King, 1957-1961.

³² On 3 July, the Indo-Burmese Trade Agreement of 1951 was enlarged in scope.

outstanding character In the Prime Ministers' Conference in London, when reference was made to the "facts of life", I reminded them of the "facts of geography" which are also facts of life and which cannot be got over. It is the new attempt to ignore geography that has led to many of the troubles in Europe and Asia

28 I shall not write to you much about the coronation festivities in London. They were on a very big scale and were organized most efficiently and with every attention to detail In spite of bad weather, they were a great success They were meant to raise the morale of the British people and to show to the world that Britain still counted I think they succeeded in this, more especially in regard to the morale.

29. Sir Winston Churchill naturally played a great part in all these functions He is, I believe, about 78 years of age He was particularly friendly to me personally although we were differing in many matters from day to day. His recent indisposition,³³ no doubt due to the heavy burdens he had undertaken as well as the coronation, is very unfortunate. He appears to be determined to do his utmost to give a lead for peace in the world.³⁴ After success in war, he wants to end his days as the man who brought peace to a stricken world By virtue of his position he can well play a very important part in this His illness therefore is a misfortune because no one can play that part exactly as he might have done It is unfortunate also that Mr Anthony Eden,³⁵ the Foreign Secretary of the U K., has also been seriously ill He is now

33 On 27 June, the Bermuda talks were postponed as Churchill had been advised rest for one month

34 On 11 May 1953, Churchill welcomed the "change of attitude" shown by the Soviet Union and called for a conference of the "leading powers without long delay", not for reaching agreements, but to generate a feeling "that they might do something better than tear the human race, including themselves into bits" He therefore proposed that after the Bermuda talks a meeting be held with the Soviet Union without any agenda

35 For b in see Vol 2, p 528

slowly recovering after a third operation. British policy and British politics are considerably affected by this removal of leading figures from the scene of action.³⁶

30 During my visit to England I saw a good deal of Lord³⁷ and Lady Mountbatten.³⁸ I meet them as old friends. Not only do they retain a vivid interest in Indian affairs, but quietly and in their own way both of them try to help our cause in many ways. Their position is such that they can do much. Their activities in regard to India are naturally not known to the public, but they are considerable and continuous. Lord Mountbatten was particularly happy that some of the ships of our Indian Navy have been sent to him and placed under his temporary command for the naval exercises that are taking place there. These ships on their return will be visiting various countries of Southern Europe—Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, etc., with our message of goodwill to the people there.

31 A question has arisen about the language in which State Governments should write to the Central Government or rather the language of the reports that are submitted here. We are naturally anxious to promote the use of Hindi as well as the other great languages of India in their respective areas. Where reports are normally published by the State Governments in Hindi or the language of the State, these should be supplied as such. But where State Governments send us any statistical or other information required by the Government of India, it is desirable that they should send this in the English language. This will help us to keep proper statistics without unnecessary delay.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

³⁶ On 29 June it was announced that Lord Salisbury would act as Foreign Secretary till Eden's recovery.

³⁷ For b fn see Vol. 1, p 141

³⁸ For b fn see Vol 1, p 144

New Delhi
16 July, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

Significant events continue to take place in various parts of the world reminding us that we live in a dynamic and explosive period of history. The fall of Mr. Beria¹ in the Soviet Union was startling news and immediately all kinds of rumours and surmises were let loose. Those who wished to believe so thought that the Soviet Union was cracking up from inside in a struggle for power and perhaps because of other reasons also.

2 I confess that I am unable to give at present any correct appraisal of the situation in the Soviet Union. But I am convinced that it is delusion to think that the Soviet Union is cracking up or collapsing. The U.S.S.R. continues to be internally strong and a mighty power as it has emerged during the last World War. Even some conflicts at the top do not make much difference to this.

3 Nevertheless, those conflicts are important and significant. Do they confirm the new policy which has come into evidence since Stalin's death or are they directed against it? We shall no doubt know before long. My own belief is that that new policy will continue and that Mr. Beria went because probably he did not fit in with this new policy.

1 L. A. Beria (1899-1953) Chief of the Soviet secret police (NKVD), Minister of Internal Affairs and Public Security, 1928-53, dismissed on 10 July on charges of treason and executed in December 1953.

4 The events that took place in East Germany² and, to some extent, in Czechoslovakia,³ were even more significant and detrimental to Soviet prestige. They brought out the fact that the workers in these countries were reacting strongly against Soviet domination. The whole basis of the Russian case in these countries was thereby undermined. This also indicated that while the Soviet Union may be strong in its own territories, it expands elsewhere at the cost of weakness there. Undoubtedly the Communist parties in various countries must have been powerfully affected by these developments in East Germany, etc., as well as the fall of Mr. Beria. The strength of the Communist Party's activities lies in a certain attitude of certainty, a certain fixity of belief. Where there is this kind of dogmatic faith in a doctrine, there is always danger of the faith cracking up if something happens that patently does not fit into it.

5. There is little doubt that in East Germany especially and, to some extent, in Czechoslovakia and Poland,⁴ powerful and continuous propaganda has been directed from the Western countries, encouraging resistance and revolt. But this propaganda, or even more definite subversive activities, could not succeed if the ground was not favourable and if the people in those countries were not tired of submission to Soviet domination. The Soviet authorities reacted quickly and rescinded all the unpopular measures in East Germany and condemned many of their own people who were responsible for them.

2 In the renewed demonstrations on 10 July, resignation of the Government, free elections, and opening of the frontier to West Berlin were demanded

3 There were demonstrations in Prague, Plzen, Brno and Ostrava between 2 and 9 June against the Czech Government's fixation of wages, announcement of a new formula of pension, and abolition of food rationing

4 The reports of demonstrations on 25 and 29 June and 4 July in Warsaw and Silesia against the Communist Government and in support of the workers in East Germany were denied by the Polish Radio on 5 July.

6. Probably these developments in Eastern Europe have made the chances of an East-West getting together rather less than they were. The West, or some countries in the West, feel that they might as well wait for other signs of weakness in the Soviet and are less eager therefore to go ahead. That, I think, is exceedingly short-sighted and unwise policy. It would be far better to take advantage of the situation to arrive at some settlement of outstanding problems or at any rate to go some distance towards a settlement.

7. Sir Winston Churchill's illness has had an unfortunate result. Ministers who met in Washington⁵ recently could not speak with the voice of Winston Churchill. This Washington Conference, therefore, has been just like any other conference and apparently has been rather dominated by the American viewpoint. The results are very disappointing. Winston Churchill's proposal for Big Power talks on an informal basis with no agenda and an attempt made to grapple with the world's problems in that way, have faded out and have been replaced by something feeble and ineffective in the extreme. It is now proposed that the Foreign Ministers should meet, not the Prime Minister or Heads of States. Instead of an informal meeting without agenda, this is going to be a formal meeting with a more or less rigid agenda which is confined to Germany and Austria. The whole approach has become different and little can be expected from this approach.

8. In Korea, after about two weeks of continuous talks between Mr. Robertson⁶ of the U.S. and President Syngman Rhee, a brave document was issued on behalf of these two

5. The Foreign Ministers of Britain, U.S.A., and France met at Washington from 10 to 14 July 1953 and reviewed the question of German unity, Austrian independence, the armistice in Korea and the situation in Indo-China, and proposed a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four Powers to discuss the German and the Austrian questions.

6. Walter S. Robertson (1893-1970) Minister for Economic Affairs, U.S. Embassy in China, 1943-46, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, 1953-59.

high dignitaries⁷ That document said much without meaning anything precise and, soon after, a statement⁸ was made on behalf of President Rhee making it clear that he was not bound down by anything and that he would pursue his course after a certain interval And so, everything is as vague as ever and the very pertinent questions that the Chinese Government put to the U N. Command remain unanswered⁹ The U N. Command says¹⁰ that they are prepared to sign the armistice, but they do not say what exactly the armistice means now after what has happened and after these long talks with Dr. Rhee.

9 Because of our acceptance of our proposed role in the armistice agreement, India is a part of that agreement. Any change in the original terms affects us and it does not follow that we are prepared to accept every change. We are anxious as ever to help in the settlement and we have no desire to back out of our undertakings or responsibilities. But we can only function effectively if nothing is done which affects our honour and self-respect

10 It is said that the U.N. Command have been and are prepared to sign the armistice and yet most of us do not know what the present terms of the armistice are, i.e., how

7 On 12 June the two Governments reaffirmed their determination to oppose coercion on prisoners of war, and agreed to collaborate on political, economic and defence matters, and for the realization within the shortest practicable time of a free, independent, and unified Korea The same day, Robertson said that Rhee had agreed not to obstruct the signing of an armistice

8 Rhee made his offer of co-operation for peace conditional by stating on 12 July that it would remain effective for ninety days only following the signing of the armistice and commencement of the political conference

9 On 24 June, the Communists alleged complicity of the U.N. Command in the release of the prisoners of war and demanded specific assurance that it would support the armistice in case South Korea resumed aggression

10 On 29 June, General Clark asked the Communist commanders to conclude the armistice arrangements, and later, on 20 July, assured observance of the terms of armistice even if South Korea resumed aggression

far the old terms have been modified after the Robertson-Rhee talks India figured prominently in these talks and President Rhee was pleased to make many offensive remarks about India and to repeat his resolve not to allow Indian troops in South Korea. Obviously, this matter has to be cleared up before we can decide what we could do. It appears that the U.N. Command, in their anxiety not to offend Dr Rhee, have made the proposal that the P.O.W.s camp should be situated in the demilitarized zone near the ceasefire line. That would be beyond Dr Rhee's reach and, presumably, Indian troops can be sent there quietly without offending the delicate sensibilities of President Syngman Rhee. All this is very unsatisfactory and we have asked the U.S. Government to tell us exactly how matters stand and how far the old terms of the armistice have been varied.¹¹

11 This is not merely a question of how India will function, although that is important enough from our point of view. It is also a question of the future of the Korean problem. If President Rhee has laid down conditions which make any real solution of this question difficult and if these conditions have been accepted, then the outlook is not good. Dr. Rhee threatens to re-start hostilities after a certain period. All this demonstrates that Rhee and his colleagues are not exactly the weak and innocent lambs who had been viciously attacked by a powerful neighbour. The past three years of war in Korea begin to appear as wasted effort.

12 In Egypt the situation has become tense again as between the Egyptian Government and the British Government.¹² I fear that there is not much chance of an under-

11 On 15 July 1953, the Government of India, seeking satisfactory assurances from the U.S. about India's position in Korea, stated that "they could not be expected to function in a future manner where the movements of their own representatives are limited and confined."

12 Tension increased in the Suez Canal Zone on 13 July when British forces subjected rail and road traffic to searches in Ismailia with a view to securing the release of their abducted airmen. To ease tension, the security measures were withdrawn on 14 July, as had been demanded by Egypt.

standing or a solution of the basic problem at present. And so, there will be a worsening of the situation, possible conflict, and finally again attempts to resolve those conflicts.

13. At the A.I.C.C. meeting held in Agra recently,¹³ I laid some stress on the situation in Africa. Africa is a big place and different conditions prevail in different parts of it. For instance, there is the nationalist upsurge in Morocco and Tunisia. That is against French colonialism. There is Egypt and the Sudan. In the far south there are the racial policies of Dr. Malan's Government. In Kenya there has been much trouble which is both political and racial as well as economic. In Central Africa a new federation has taken legal shape. In the Gold Coast and in Nigeria there is a demand for independence. Thus all over Africa there is a ferment and the position becomes more and more explosive.

14. In the recent A.I.C.C. session in Agra, special stress was laid on the problem of unemployment.¹⁴ Merely by passing a resolution, nothing much is done. But I think it is a definite advance that this subject is being given concentrated attention now. It is by far our most important subject. Even if we increased our production and our national wealth considerably, but did not affect the unemployment problem much, we would fail. A social system which cannot deal with unemployment cannot last. Every approach to the problem must be based on reaching full employment ultimately and fuller employment progressively.

15. Much is happening in India today which disturbs me greatly. While on the one side we see constructive activities and unifying forces at work, on the other hand, we also see

¹³ On 6 and 7 July 1953

¹⁴ The resolution recognized that the implementation of the Five Year Plan would generate more employment but expressed "its concern at the increase in unemployment in certain fields of economic activity despite increase in production." The resolution called for reorganization of plan activity to create more employment opportunities, and urged the State Governments to actively support growth of small and cottage industries

disintegrating forces and destructive activities functioning. I am constantly criticizing communalism, provincialism and casteism, and some people think that I overdo this. And yet I think that unless we realize the pernicious and deeply corroding nature of these tendencies and fight against them, we shall make little progress. There is something inherently disintegrating in our social outlook. Perhaps this is due to long years of functioning under the caste system which separates us into innumerable compartments. Whatever it may be due to, it is clear that we tend to disintegrate and to work in small groups at every provocation. The future of India depends on the strength of the cementing bonds which keep us together and prevent these disintegrating processes from working. The future of India, as indeed of every country, ultimately depends on the quality of the human-beings there and how far they can rise above their parochial feelings and petty conflicts.

16. Looking round India, today, one sees a good deal of passion being shown over linguistic boundaries. People hunger-strike, hold up trains and the like because they do not like a particular boundary. A recent proposal in Madras for some kind of a change of form in the educational system¹⁵ again leads to violent demonstrations and stoppage of trains.¹⁶ In Calcutta, the increase of tram fares by an anna also leads to widespread disorder.¹⁷ In Assam there is much excitement because a proposal was put forward by the External Affairs Ministry some time ago to appoint a

15 The proposal was to combine class-room instruction with knowledge about the rural needs and environment, and make recreational activity part of the curriculum

16 It was alleged that the new educational system would put a premium on the hereditary choice of profession, intensify feelings of caste consciousness and create more distinctions and differences in society. In the demonstrations on 14-15 July to protest against the system, trains were stopped at Madras and Dalmiapuram in Tiruchirappalli District.

17 An agitation organized by left-wing parties from 1 July to protest against the rise in tram fares turned violent leading to burning of trams, police firings and arrests

Commissioner for the North East Frontier Agency to function under the Governor who is in charge on behalf of the Central Government.¹⁸ This was a minor proposal, thought of in terms of administrative efficiency and with a view to go ahead at a faster pace in improving conditions in the North East Frontier Agency. This area has been terribly neglected in the past and is very backward. This simple and, as we thought, harmless proposal has been described by important personalities in Assam as a "diabolical move" by the Central Government against the interests of Assam. The poor Governor of Assam has been needlessly dragged into the picture, as it was thought that he was responsible for this proposal. He had nothing to do with it.

17. I have mentioned above some odd aspects of the Indian scene today. They may not be very important if one considers the whole picture of India. But they are disturbing as they indicate a pettiness in mind, a narrowness in outlook and an immaturity which ill becomes a nation and a people which claim to be advanced and mature in their thinking and action. This narrow outlook comes out in a variety of ways. In the U.P. and elsewhere there is a deliberate attempt to push out Urdu¹⁹ which is spoken and written by large

18 On 12 July, the Praja Socialist Party and the Assam Jatiya Mahasabha demanded that the Assam Government, as an agent of the Government of India, should administer the North East Frontier Area as had been recommended by the North East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas Sub-Committee set up by the Constituent Assembly. They criticized the Assam Government's decision to hand over the administration of this area to the Centre.

19 The Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu campaigned in 1951 for the acceptance of Urdu as a regional language as it argued that Urdu's position in U.P. had been downgraded since independence. In 1952, the Urdu Regional Conference, convened by the Anjuman, cited several instances of Urdu having been abolished in primary schools. On 30 May 1953, the A.I.C.C., in its circular to States, suggested that while Hindi must be encouraged as the national language, Urdu should also get its due place. On 6 July, the executive committee of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee decided to give recognition to Hindi only as the State language.

numbers of persons. No one challenges Hindi's supreme position in India and more especially in North India. To adopt this narrow and ungenerous attitude towards Urdu, a language of India, which has enriched Indian culture and thought, appears to me most unfortunate. As a matter of fact, we are encouraging the smallest tribal language in the North East Frontier. I mention this merely to indicate our tendency to function in narrow grooves of thought. If that is our background, it is difficult to make real progress on any plane, political, economic, social or cultural.

18 I could, of course, give a list of other aspects of India which are promising and which indicate the progress we are making. These are the constructive and unifying aspects. But I wanted particularly to draw your attention to our failings, for we are apt to forget our failings and then they come and overwhelm us.

19 I am going tomorrow on brief visits to Lucknow and Allahabad, returning on the 19th July. On the 25th July, I go to Karachi for my talks with the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I expect to be there for three days. Some time, probably late in August, Mr. Ali is likely to come to Delhi to continue these talks.

20 We are having an international exhibition on low cost housing early next year.²⁰ I understand that our Minister²¹ for Works, Housing and Supply has already addressed you on this subject. This question of low cost housing is of the greatest importance to us. The United Nations Organization and a number of foreign governments are likely to participate in this exhibition. At the same time as the exhibition, there

20. Held from 20 January to 5 March 1954.

21 Swaran Singh (b 1907) Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1946-47, Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, Government of India, 1952-57, for Steel, Mines and Fuel, 1957-62, for Railways, 1962, for Food and Agriculture, 1963-64, for Industry and Supply, 1964, for External Affairs, 1964-66 and 1970-74, and for Defence, 1966-70 and 1974-76.

16 July, 1953

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will be a seminar on housing organized by the U.N. Technical Assistance Administration and also a regional conference of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning. I hope that your Government will co-operate fully in making this exhibition and connected activities a success

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
1 August, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

The outstanding event of the last fortnight has been the signing of the Korean armistice¹ For six weeks or so this had been held up by President Syngman Rhee and there were prolonged discussions between him and a representative of the United States² We do not yet know precisely what assurances have been given to Syngman Rhee by the U.S. Government,³ but certain recent statements made by Mr Dulles⁴ indicate that certain promises have been made which may create difficulties in the future Any such assurance must inevitably limit the field of free discussion at the political conference⁵ which is supposed to follow the armistice

1 The agreement signed on 27 July provided for "a complete cessation of hostilities in Korea "

2 See *ante*, pp 336-337

3 See *ante*, p 337

4 Dulles disclosed on 22 July that Rhee had been promised by the U S massive help in the rehabilitation of South Korea, a mutual security treaty, and steps, in co-operation with principal allies, to check renewed aggression in Korea On 28 July, Dulles stated that Rhee had also been assured that the United States would opt out of the political conference if it found the Communist response inadequate The next day, Dulles said he would visit South Korea to discuss the U S guarantees

5 The armistice agreement recommended that a high-level political conference be convened within 90 days to settle "the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question "

2. Indeed, there are signs of trouble already in regard to the constitution of this political conference.⁶ If China refused to participate in this conference because of what the U.S. might have promised to President Rhee, then the conference will lose all significance. It is exceedingly improbable that there will be a return to military operations in Korea in spite of the threats held by President Rhee. All the parties concerned are tired of warfare and are most reluctant to resume it. Only President Rhee insists on war being resumed if a certain result is not achieved within a specified period.⁷

3. The attitude of President Rhee and the assurances given to him have created much misgiving in Western European countries, notably the United Kingdom,⁸ and there has been much criticism of the United States. In fact, recent developments indicate a progressive variation in the policies of the United Kingdom and some other countries on the one side and the United States of America on the other. Both on the political and economic fronts this divergence is visible.

4. After a long period of cold war certain steps were taken by the Soviet Government as well as the Chinese Government which indicated a new policy towards a lessening of

6. It was reported that while Britain and France favoured participation by the Soviet Union and India in the political conference, the United States was opposed to the participation of neutral countries.

7. On 22 July, Rhee declared that if no solution was found by the political conference at the end of ninety days, "we shall be at liberty to follow our own course of action."

8. The statements of Dulles were criticized in the House of Commons between 29 and 31 July. Attlee stated that Britain had entered the Korean war "to vindicate the principles of the United Nations. We certainly did not enter it on behalf of Syngman Rhee or to make Mr. Syngman Rhee the ruler of a United Korea." R. A. Butler, the acting Prime Minister, clarified on 30 July that the British Government could not be involved in a war with North Korea in future without proper discussion and added that "our conception of the United Nations is that of a family of nations and not an anti-communist alliance."

tension. What this was due to it may be difficult to say with certainty. But there can be no doubt that step by step many things were done which indicated an approach to a peaceful settlement of problems. While this was welcomed by many, it produced a degree of confusion also in the minds of some other countries. They did not expect this kind of development and were taken aback. Sir Winston Churchill reacted to this by making his great speech in May last⁹ calling for a Four Power Conference. Since then, however, this proposal has lost much of its significance because of the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Washington.¹⁰ One can observe two rival pulls at work. For the moment the brave approach of Sir Winston Churchill has been effectively bypassed and fear and caution have won the day. Nevertheless, there are strong forces working for peace and for a top-level conference and it is quite possible that Sir Winston Churchill might, on his return to work, make some other dramatic announcement.

5. The signing of the Korean armistice casts many duties and responsibilities upon us. We are sending an advance party to Korea on the 5th August to confer with the U.N. Command as well as the Chinese and the North Korean Command and make necessary arrangements for the various types of work that we have got to do. Our representative will be the Chairman and executive authority of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. Our armed forces will guard the prisoners of war, and we shall also be responsible for the Red Cross work. We have selected Lieutenant General Thimayya¹¹ as our principal representative. His colleague and alternate will be Shri B. N. Chakravarty,¹² at present our Ambassador in Holland. There will necessarily be a considerable staff. We are proceeding with our arrangements, but they will be completed only on the return of our

9 See *ante*, p. 332

10 See *ante*, p. 336

11 For *b. fn.* see Vol. 2, p. 534

12 For *b. fn.* see Vol. 2, p. 526

advance party from Korea and Japan about the middle of August. Our present difficulty is to find shipping to send our troops. We have thus far engaged an Indian ship, *Jaladurga*, and a British ship, but this is not enough.

6. The U.N. General Assembly is meeting on the 17th August to consider the consequences of the Korean armistice. Probably the most important question before them will be the constitution and composition of the political conference which is to follow. They have also to fix the venue of this conference. Among the various places suggested has been New Delhi, but I rather doubt if this will be the final choice. Probably Geneva will be chosen. It must be remembered that the political conference is the child of the armistice and therefore decisions about it cannot be made simply by the U N General Assembly which really represents one party to the armistice, namely, the U N. Command. It is necessary to have an agreement with the other party, the Chinese and the North Korean Command or Governments. It has therefore been suggested that consultation should take place between the Great Powers concerned previous to a meeting of the General Assembly.

7 I have recently returned from a visit to Karachi.¹³ Much has been published in the newspapers about this visit and I need not therefore refer to it at any length. The welcome that I received in Karachi was not only extraordinary but rather moving, more particularly from the crowds in the streets, which included large numbers of refugees. The Government went out of their way to show us every courtesy and hospitality. Altogether, there was an atmosphere of great friendliness. In spite of all our conflicts and difficulties during the past five or six years, it was difficult for me to feel that I was in a foreign country. There was the bond of

¹³ The communique issued on 27 July at the end of the 3-days talks between the Prime Ministers in Karachi said that the discussions were "frank and cordial" and covered all outstanding issues. On Kashmir, both sides acquired a "clear understanding of each other's point of view . . . and of the difficulties that stand in the way of settlement."

common language as well as of old associations. For a moment, our present differences seemed rather small in the face of so many things that were common between us, in the past and in the present.

8. There was an extreme eagerness to find a solution of our problems, notably that of Kashmir, which was considered the basic obstacle to friendly relations. I had long discussions with the Prime Minister of Pakistan and our talks were frank and friendly. We made progress in regard to a number of matters but Kashmir continued to be a hard nut to crack. Yet, even in regard to Kashmir, I think that we had a greater understanding of each other's viewpoints.

9. A desire for a settlement in Pakistan or in India was natural and yet the eagerness in Pakistan required some further explanation. I had the impression that, while the Government of Pakistan was desirous of a settlement, the people there were even more anxious for it. They were tired of this continuing conflict which had brought them no good and they were becoming more and more convinced that they should pursue a different path from that of hatred and of enmity to India which had yielded no results in the past. I believe that even the anti-Qadiani agitation which shook the West Punjab and resulted in martial law, was something much bigger than a religious feud. It represented extreme dissatisfaction with the Government at the time and a feeling of frustration at the policies that had been pursued by it. It represented, oddly enough, in spite of its narrow religious basis, an attempt to try a new and more friendly approach to India. That agitation was crushed ruthlessly, but that basic feeling remained. Political and economic difficulties, which were continuing, prevented these people from accepting the *status quo* and they searched for a new path.

10. I had some glimpses of the vast refugee population round about Karachi. This was in a pitiable state. Several hundreds of thousands live in wretched temporary huts in various stages of disrepair. I was reminded of what I had seen in various parts of India five years ago, when we were

tackling the stupendous migrations of people here from Pakistan I suppose that Pakistan has settled many refugees and rehabilitated them. But vast numbers still remain and the outlook for them is pretty dim. I have little doubt that large numbers of them would gladly return to India if given a chance. Among these unfortunate people there was a dull feeling of resentment at the unkind fate that had pursued them since the partition. They did not show any resentment or anger towards me, but looked at me with friendly eyes.

11. There was a vague hope that a settlement with India would better the conditions of the common people and so this strong urge for better relations with India had grown. This is good in its way and we should welcome it and ourselves work for that settlement and better relations. That is the only wise course for us. There are difficulties in the way and old passions have not quite died down. But there is no other way.

12. The Kashmir problem is still unsolved. Meanwhile a grave internal situation has arisen in Kashmir.¹⁴ You may have sensed it somewhat from newspaper reports. Even those reports do not give a full picture. There is conflict between the leading personalities in Kashmir and this produces a great deal of confusion in the public mind. I have little doubt that one of the principal causes for this unfortunate development has been the Praja Parishad and Jan Sangh agitation.¹⁵ This naturally produced powerful reactions among the Muslims of Kashmir. They saw the communal face of India and were apprehensive lest this

14 For some time Sheikh Abdullah had been making speeches increasingly critical of the Government of India and avoiding full implementation of the Delhi Agreement. This created differences in the Kashmir Government and the National Conference. Maulana Azad's further discussions at Srinagar, followed by Sheikh Abdullah's refusal to come to Delhi for talks added to the concern of the Government of India.

15 On 5 July, the Jan Sangh and the Praja Parishad withdrew their agitation in response to Nehru's appeal of 2 July.

should at any time become the real face of India. All the work that we had done for the last five years suffered, and fear and suspicion took possession of men's minds there. And now we have to face an exceedingly difficult situation, which deteriorates from day to day.

13. We are apt to forget that India can only hold together and make progress if we practise a wide tolerance and understanding of the vast number of people who inhabit our great country. Attempts to regiment them to one way of thinking or living produce not the unity we seek but a sense of suppression and disparity. We have to build up our unity, but that can only be done if we recognize fully and encourage the rich variety of India's life and culture. Nothing distresses me so much as the occasional evidence one sees of extreme narrowness of outlook and absence of vision. A recent instance of this has been the totally unnecessary conflict between Hindi and Urdu in some parts of India, more especially in Uttar Pradesh.

14. The position of Hindi is absolutely assured all over India. No language can rival it as an all-India language, though no doubt the great provincial languages will play their full part in their respective regions. Urdu cannot possibly come in the way of the advance of Hindi. Why then do some people in their misguided enthusiasm try to suppress Urdu? Millions of people in India speak Urdu or the variation of Hindi which is called Urdu, and use the Urdu or Persian script. All these will necessarily have to learn Hindi and the Devanagiri script. But they treasure Urdu, as they are fully entitled to do. Memories are short and perhaps few people remember the great stress that Gandhiji laid on this question of Hindi and Urdu. It is true that conditions have changed since then, but basic principles do not change. We encourage the smallest tribal language in its own area, but many of us resent even the mention of Urdu, and yet Urdu is very much a child of India and is a vital and graceful aspect of our many-sided culture. I am deeply grieved at this narrowness of outlook which so frequently comes in our way of our growth.

15. Calcutta has been the scene of continuing disturbances during the latter part of July and all because of a slight rise in tramway fares. I can give no opinion on the merits of the question. But this frequent resort to violence and public disorder is a bad sign. In Madras, there has been an agitation about some educational proposal. In Bellary, people fast because of our decision to add it to the Mysore state. Where does this all lead to? Are our policies on important questions going to be considered or decided in this way? I am greatly disturbed about all this as it shows not only immaturity in our public life but a certain continuing tendency towards disintegration. How can we devote ourselves to the major economic problems when we waste our energy over these trivial matters?

16. Among the countries of Asia, India rather stands out for its ordered political life and organized attempts to bring about economic progress. In most other countries of Asia, there is an absence of both of these, and politics becomes a succession of *coups d'état* and disorderly demonstrations. That is a normal condition of some of the Middle Eastern countries. Unfortunately, Indonesia has also displayed this weakness.¹⁶ Only the other day a Dutch statesman referred tauntingly to the present state of Indonesia.¹⁷ We have these examples before us and we also see the difference between

¹⁶ The coalition Government in Indonesia in office for fourteen months resigned on 2 June following disagreement between its two major components on questions relating to distribution of land in eastern Sumatra, nationalization of the Royal Dutch Shell Company and opening of a diplomatic mission in Soviet Russia. On 30 July, another coalition Government led by Sastromidjojo of the Indonesian Nationalist Party and supported by the Communist and radical groups was announced.

¹⁷ J. M. A. H. Luns, the Dutch Foreign Minister, said in New Delhi on 14 July after visiting Indonesia that he had useful discussions with the Indonesian leaders but "further talks of common interest would have to await the formation of a Cabinet in Indonesia."

them and India. Because of this difference, we have largely made good in the world's eyes and stand out. Some of our friends, however, would like to reduce us to the level of periodic violence and disorderly demonstration.

17. There has been some controversy in recent months about Christian missionaries in India. A statement¹⁸ by the Home Minister, Dr. Katju,¹⁹ in Parliament, has led to this argument That statement by itself was merely a reiteration of the policy we have been pursuing but somehow it led some people to believe that there was more in it and, as a result, it seems to me that too much zeal has been shown in some States against Christian missionary activities A certain feeling of alarm has been created among Christians in various parts of India That is very unfortunate. Any such feeling of insecurity or differential treatment is against our basic principles and policy We must, therefore, try to remove it by our statements and our actions Complaints have come to me of harassment of missionaries and the like by policemen, of censoring of letters, of strange questions being asked and threats being held out. Some of these complaints may be exaggerated, but the fact that there is apprehension in their minds cannot be doubted and that itself casts a burden upon us Where information is required, as it often is, it is better for the State Government or the local authority to address the headquarters of the organization who will no doubt supply full information about its members The practice of leaving it to police enquiries is not good Of course, where there is an individual case of a suspect, the normal police enquiries have to take place Even

18 Katju had stated on 15 April 1953 that the Government had been obliged to take steps against Christian missionaries in Central India on the basis of complaints that their proselytizing activities had been hurting the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus He added that foreign missionaries were welcome in India as long as they confined their activities to social and educational work.

19 For b In see Vol 2, p 523

in regard to visas, it is much easier and better to try to get the information about the individual concerned from the organization

18 This question of missionaries arose some months ago in the North East Frontier Agency.²⁰ This area as well as a certain area in the U P adjoin an important frontier of ours. We have, therefore, to take special care of frontier areas and we do not allow any foreigner to go across the inner line. In the past, some missionaries had undoubtedly carried on anti-national activities there. For political and military reasons, we have to be strict in those areas. Elsewhere, the same considerations do not apply.

19 The day after tomorrow Parliament begins. It is going to be a short session, but a heavy one.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20 On 13 May 1953, Nehru informed the Lok Sabha that while there were no restrictions on foreigners coming to India for religious purposes, certain restrictions had been imposed on their movements in certain border areas where their activities were considered harmful.

New Delhi
10 August, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

You must have followed the recent developments in Kashmir. ¹ This morning I made a statement in the House of the People. ² Last night, the new Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir state, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, spoke at

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 Following an open rift in our Cabinet of five members, Sheikh Abdullah demanded on 6 August the resignation of Shamlal Saraf, the Development Minister, who refused. The next day, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, G. L. Dogra and Saraf, in a memorandum to Sheikh Abdullah, charged him with following an independent policy disregarding the principle of collective leadership of the Cabinet, criticized his political and economic policies and blamed him for the corrupt and inefficient administration in the state and for his support of communal-minded colleagues like Mirza Asfai Beg. Later, Karan Singh, head of the state, called an immediate meeting of the Cabinet which Sheikh Abdullah refused to attend. On 9 August, Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed and arrested and G. M. Bakshi appointed Prime Minister.

2 Tracing the events leading to the dismissal and arrest of Sheikh Abdullah's Government, Nehru stated that Sheikh Abdullah had been arrested in the interest of the security of the state. Denying that the Indian army had been used to suppress demonstrations in Srinagar, Nehru said that though the Central Government's policy "on the larger issues" remained "what it was and we shall stand by the assurances we have given to Kashmir, it did not wish to interfere, except with advice, in the internal structure and administration of the state."

some length on the radio³ and his speech has appeared in the press. This speech not only gives the background of events in Kashmir, but indicates the approach of his Government to the problems of Kashmir. I cannot say how the situation will develop, but I hope that life will return to normal within the next few days.⁴

One of the unfortunate results of the tension and confusion in Kashmir, and more especially in Srinagar, during the last two months or so was to scare away the tourists. The Valley of Kashmir depends a great deal upon the tourist traffic. This year a large number of visitors went to the Valley and, as a result, innumerable shopkeepers and others invested their savings in goods for sale. In June internal controversies produced a troubled atmosphere and the tourists started to fade away till hardly any remained. The whole economic life of Srinagar was powerfully affected by this.

We could do much to help the state and its people at this stage by encouraging visitors to go to Kashmir. As a matter of fact, in some ways the latter half of August, September and October are the best months in the Valley. Our Railway Ministry is considering what steps they can take in the way of offering concessions to visitors to Kashmir and they will probably make an announcement fairly soon. We should also try to encourage the sale of Kashmir arts and crafts.

I am drawing your attention to this matter which is important, and hope that you will be able to do something to help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

³ In his broadcast, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad reiterated that Kashmir had indissoluble links with India and charged Sheikh Abdullah and some of his colleagues with working for an "independent state designed to further the global aims of interested foreign powers." He assured mitigation of poverty in the state through good government which "Abdullah's oppressive statecraft" had so far denied to the people.

⁴ At Srinagar and Anantnag, the police fired on violent demonstrations in favour of Sheikh Abdullah.

New Delhi
22 August, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

It is three weeks since I wrote to you last, three weeks full of important happenings in India and the world. Some of us here have had to work under peculiar strain during this period. Hence the delay in my writing to you which you will understand.

2. In the world at large, strange things have happened. In Iran, there has been another revolutionary and bloody coup¹ and Dr. Mossadeq, from being a dictator of his country, is now in prison. In Morocco, the Sultan has been forcibly deposed by the French.² In New York, there is an unseemly tussle going on in the General Assembly of the U.N., over the composition of the political conference for Korea.³ In Korea itself, preparations are being made for the next stage.⁴

1. In a coup led by General Fazullah Zahedi in collusion with the royal troops, Mossadeq's Government was overthrown on 19 August and he was arrested. The Shah, who had fled from Teheran on 16 August, returned from Europe within a week.

2. On 20 August the French authorities appointed Sidi Mohammed-ben Moulay Arafas the new Sultan of Morocco. This followed the arrest of a large number of Sidi Mohammad ben Yousuf's supporters and of the workers of the Istiqlal (Independence) Party. See also *ibid.* p. 318.

3. The Political Committee of the General Assembly met from 18 to 27 August to decide the date, venue and composition of the proposed political conference on Korea. The discussions mainly revolved round the question of associating India and the Soviet Union with the work of the conference.

4. The repatriation of those prisoners of war who were willing to be repatriated commenced on 5 August and ended on 6 September 1953.

and an advance party sent there by us has come back and reported⁵ Considerable number of Indian troops have already sailed for Korea from Madras.⁶ In quiet and peaceful Ceylon, there has been violent labour trouble leading to a declaration of a state of emergency.⁷ In Indonesia, after a long interval, a Government has been formed.⁸ But this Government has no strong support and can hardly be expected to have a long life. In the Soviet Union there has been a meeting of the Supreme Soviet⁹ and several further steps have been taken¹⁰ which indicate a continuation of the new policy which was introduced soon after Stalin's death. This policy aims generally at a lessening of tension in Europe and elsewhere. In South Africa, Dr. Malan has come out again, very frankly and forcibly, as the champion against what he calls Indian imperialism.¹¹ Thus he tries to cover up his blatant racial policy. In East Africa, the

5 An advance party of nine officials led by R. K. Nehru, the Foreign Secretary, and Major General S. P. P. Thorat, returned to India on 18 August after visiting Korea and Japan for two weeks.

6 Between 18 and 20 August 1953.

7 The demonstrations by the left wing against the rise in prices turned violent and there was police firing on 12 and 13 August. An emergency was declared in the country on 12 August.

8 See ante, p. 351.

9 It met from 5 to 8 August 1953, and Malenkov, in his address on the concluding day, reiterating the policy of the Soviet Union of "peaceful co-existence," said that "it is the principle of our foreign policy to respect the national freedom and sovereignty of any nation, large and small." He also stressed the need for talks between the Big Powers and pledged support to the United Nations in its efforts to "strengthen peace."

10 On 16 August, the Soviet Union announced acceptance of the proposal of the Western Powers of 15 July to hold a peace conference on Germany.

11. On 11 August, Malan spoke of the danger posed by India "not only to Africa but to all powers with interests in Africa. India was a danger for Africa in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and in East Africa."

European settlers have also talked loudly about this Indian imperialism ¹² It so happens that the voice of India has been the stoutest, among the countries of the world, not only in regard to the freedom of suppressed peoples but, more especially, against racial domination and inequality This has hurt those who indulge in this racial suppression

3. In our own country we have had another Independence Day, and I unfurled our flag for the seventh time from the ramparts of the historic Red Fort of Delhi before a vast audience. Parliament has been meeting and considering principally the Estate Duty Bill¹³ and the Andhra State Bill ¹⁴ The nationalization of air services in India has been completed and the two corporations, one for internal services and the other for overseas services, have been given a good start ¹⁵ The Prime Minister¹⁶ of New Zealand paid us a brief visit ¹⁷

¹² For example, the *Kenya Weekly News* wrote on 12 August that "Pandit Nehru is a menace to Africa and to the Africans Does Pandit Nehru imagine that the world would tolerate the decline of Africa to a vast zoological reserve while he prattled about political freedom and racial equality?"

¹³ The Estate Duty Bill provided for levy of duty on "property passing on death or deemed to pass on the death of a person" so as to reduce wide disparities in the accumulation of wealth and to find funds for the development schemes of the States The Bill was passed by the two Houses of Parliament on 15 and 22 September respectively and received the President's assent on 14 October 1953

¹⁴ The Andhra State Bill passed by Lok Sabha on 27 August after a week's debate, and by Rajya Sabha on 12 September, received the President's assent on 14 September 1953

¹⁵ Indian Airlines and Air India International were inaugurated on 1 August 1953

¹⁶ S G Holland (1893-1961) Prime Minister of New Zealand, 1949-57

¹⁷ From 2 to 5 August 1953

4 Far the most important events in India during this last fortnight have been connected with Kashmir.¹⁸ It was, as a consequence of these events, although not to deal with them directly, that the Prime Minister of Pakistan came here at the beginning of this week and spent four days with us.¹⁹ You must have seen the statement that has been issued by us about our talks.²⁰ In the course of my address on Independence Day from the Red Fort, I appealed to the people of Delhi to give a warm welcome to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, who was due to arrive the next day. In the result, what the people of Delhi did surprise everyone and gratified me greatly. They gave Mr. Mahomed Ali a welcome which they have hardly given to anyone in the past. It was a warm-hearted and overwhelming welcome and somehow these years of strain and trouble and conflict, since the partition, faded away and Old Delhi stood out as a great city with an immemorial past, representing the many cultures that have flowed into it and become its own. There was a nostalgia in the air for that composite culture which had made Delhi so notable in the past. The Pakistan Prime Minister and his party were overwhelmed by this demonstration of affection and goodwill. Mr. Mahomed Ali was little known, he had no great record behind him to inspire the people. Why then did he receive such a welcome? To a slight

18 See ante, item 36

19 Reacting to the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah's Government, Mahomed Ali, in a telegram to Nehru on 10 August, demanded an immediate conference on Kashmir. Nehru replied two days later that such a meeting at that juncture was pointless, but as Mahomed Ali persisted a meeting was held in New Delhi from 17 to 20 August.

20 The communique of 20 August expressed the desire of both countries for "a fair and impartial plebiscite" to settle the dispute "in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state" and their agreement to the appointment of a plebiscite administrator by the Kashmir Government by the end of April 1954. It also stated that the representatives of the two Governments would meet again to discuss the question of evacuee property.

extent, because of our appeal to the people of Delhi, but much more so, for other reasons. I think this astonishing demonstration represented a basic desire in the minds of men and women to have done with the conflicts that have embittered India and Pakistan. It represented also an appreciation of the fact that Mr Mahomed Ali has also represented that desire for friendship and co-operation between the two countries

5 Some days before the Pakistan Prime Minister came to Delhi and while he was here, Pakistan was full of a raging and tearing campaign against India. The press was full of it,²¹ the radio talked of it, and prominent men, Ministers and Governors and others, repeated the same theme.²² The Independence Day celebrations of Pakistan were cancelled throughout the world.²³ There were processions and meetings and hartals and the demand was for war and *jehad*. We have had many hysterical outbursts in Pakistan during the last few years, but this latest one exceeded all previous ones in virulence. It was difficult for me even to read extracts from the Pakistan press. They were blood-curdling. I could understand the people in Pakistan feeling the shock of events in Kashmir and I could even appreciate some sense of resentment. But what happened was so terribly unbalanced that it passed all understanding. There was talk of putting

21 On 10 August, *Dawn* described Abdullah's dismissal as "a challenge to Pakistan" and the *Pakistan Times* characterized it as an "attempt at consolidation of India's over-lordship in Kashmir." The press also carried exaggerated reports about protest demonstrations in Kashmir and other places, and on 11 August the *Dawn* headline read "Indian troops mow down Moslems."

22 At public meetings in Karachi on 11 and 16 August, Fauma Jinnah asked people to prepare for the "liberation" of Kashmir, Khaliur Rahman, former Minister of State for Defence, denounced the "butchery of Moslems of Kashmir," and Abdul Qayyum Khan and Sardar Ibrahim called for a *jehad* against India and severance of diplomatic relations. Hartals were also observed on 11 August in Karachi and Lahore.

23. The Pakistan Cabinet took this decision on 12 August.

an end to diplomatic relations, and if this takes place at any time, one can imagine the other consequences that would flow from it.

6. It is in this context of hysteria and wild outbursts in Pakistan that the visit of Mr. Mahomed Ali to Delhi must be seen. The contrast between this and the warm-hearted welcome that he got in Delhi was remarkable. I have seldom felt so proud of my people as I did when I saw the men and women of Delhi behaving in this big way, in spite of the wild outbursts in Pakistan. There was an element of greatness in their behaviour and sobriety in facing a difficult situation. I wish we could always behave in this manner whenever a crisis or difficulty faces us.

7. The recent events in Kashmir are undoubtedly of primary importance not only in the Kashmir state itself but in the whole of India and, to some extent, in the world. Much of this importance is due to the fact that the events appeared to have come with the suddenness of a thunderbolt. In fact, few things happen with that suddenness and there are always long-standing and underlying causes behind events. Three months ago, in May last, I visited Kashmir for two days²⁴. This was before I went to England. I was surprised and dismayed to see the state of affairs there and the great deterioration that had taken place in many ways. There was a process of disintegration and an acute internal conflict among those who had been our colleagues for so long. I was peculiarly unhappy to find how Sheikh Abdullah had changed. All I could do then was to beg of Sheikh Abdullah and others not to allow this process of disintegration to continue and not to take any step which might make the situation even more difficult. I asked them to stay their hands till I came back from Europe when we could discuss the various problems confronting us fully. When I was in England, I continued to have disturbing accounts of conditions in Kashmir. On my return, one of the earliest things I did

24 18 and 19 May 1953

was to invite Sheikh Abdullah to come to see me in Delhi.²⁵ I had previously invited him to the A.I.C.C. meeting in Agra. He said he could not come to Agra but he would try to see me later in Delhi. However, he did not come to Delhi in spite of repeated invitations. He sent Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Mirza Afzal Beg²⁶ later, but that was hardly satisfactory.

8 Meanwhile, the situation went on relentlessly towards the final crisis. Government did not function there and Ministers spoke against each other. The National Party that had been built up after more than 20 years' labour started disintegrating. The people were confused and apprehensive. Visitors who had gone in large numbers this year to Kashmir, sensing this impending crisis, left the Valley and large numbers of petty shopkeepers who had invested their all in the handicrafts of Kashmir hoping to sell them to these visitors, were suddenly stranded.

9 We met people from Kashmir. Some of my colleagues went there at my request and otherwise and came back and reported. At every stage the report was worse than the previous one. It became clear that it was impossible to carry on in this way. Government could not function and everything was disintegrating. Sheikh Abdullah's attitude became more and more bitter and he seemed to be bent on upsetting everything in Kashmir. Indeed, in the course of a conversation with a friend, he said that he would set fire to the state. I do not know what he meant by that. But it indicated the state of his mind which was almost functioning as if it was unbalanced. So we came to live under constant apprehension of an impending disaster. It was a very

25 In a letter to Abdullah on 8 July, Nehru clarified that the Government of India stood by the Delhi Agreement and urged him to "adhere to it." To find out from him as to what was meant by "separate policies", Nehru invited Abdullah to Delhi for discussions.

26 (1912-1982) Minister, Jammu and Kashmir, 1944-46, Minister in Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet, 1948-53, founded Jammu and Kashmir Plebiscite Front, 1955, later imprisoned a number of times, Minister for Revenue, Agriculture, Forest, Industry and Commerce, 1973-78.

difficult and distressing situation. There was no easy way out. To allow things to continue as they were was to invite disaster and, in any event, that was a feeble way of meeting a situation. To take any steps to check it also meant inviting trouble. The choice, as often in our lives, was one of the lesser evil.

10. We were told repeatedly that something must be done. We were informed that the majority of the Cabinet held one view and the minority, including the Prime Minister, another, that majority commanded the considerable majority of the executive of the National Conference as also very probably of the Conference itself and the Constituent Assembly. Our advice first was that some way out should be found for co-operation, as any other course was likely to lead to unfortunate results. If this was impossible, then a Government should be formed which could function and which held one view and not several diverse views. The procedure must be fully constitutional. If the Cabinet split up, it should resign and go out of office and another Cabinet formed. We stressed that this should be done in the proper way in accordance with constitutional procedure. We realized, of course, that all manner of difficulties might arise. We could not deal with every possible consequence. We were anxious, however, that our Army should not be involved and we issued strict injunctions accordingly.

11. For some days, further disintegrating developments took place and then the final crisis came in the Cabinet resulting from the demand of Sheikh Abdullah for the resignation of a Member,²⁷ who happened to represent the majority view of the Cabinet. Events followed in quick succession resulting in the dismissal of the Abdullah Cabinet, the swearing in of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as Prime

²⁷ Sham Lal Saraf, Businessman and politician from Kashmir, Minister for Health and Development, 1948-58, and of Industry, Commerce and Labour, 1958-63

Minister and later in the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah himself. We learnt of these events after they had taken place. It was difficult for us to say anything at that stage because the resulting situation had to be dealt with on the spot and anything that we could have said from here might only have resulted in adding to the confusion and making nobody responsible. We had, therefore, to watch events as they happened. It appeared that, after the dismissal of the Abdullah Cabinet, there was a danger of Sheikh Abdullah promoting an upheaval and civil strife on a considerable scale. This was to be avoided and so the next inevitable step was taken by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the new Prime Minister, to order his arrest.

12. It is easy to be wise after an event. But, when events follow each other in quick succession, each leading to the other, it is difficult to stop or divert their course much. How and when did this deterioration begin leading to the final crisis? It is difficult to draw the line, but there can be no doubt that one of the most powerful elements at the back was the Praja Parishad-Jan Sangh agitation which created a great effect not only in Sheikh Abdullah's mind but in the minds of the people in the Valley. This agitation embittered them and it appeared to them that the Jan Sangh and its supporters represented the prevailing sentiment in India and this frightened them. The people began looking in other directions. Sheikh Abdullah became peculiarly bitter and rather lost his moorings. We can criticize Sheikh Abdullah for going astray and forgetting the principles on which he had long stood, but that does not help much in understanding a situation which at first gradually and then rather suddenly confronted us. This situation was primarily the result of this communal agitation which went on in Delhi, in the Punjab and in some other parts of India for many months. Thousands of Kashmiri labourers who came down to India in the summer, went back with bitterness in their hearts. They spread to the villages. We see here the dangerous results of wrong action. It is true that some of us condemned this agitation repeatedly in Parliament and elsewhere, but it is

also true that many vaguely sympathized with it, not realizing the dangers inherent in it. And so, we have to suffer those consequences and those dangers

13 The situation developed as some inevitable tragedy which could not be stopped. It has left a bad taste in the mouth and I have felt unhappy, for much that has happened has not been good, and a long trail of consequences will flow from it. If we believe as we have done and must do, that the people of Kashmir must decide their own fate, then obviously things have happened which have weighted the scales against us. Some of our friends in the past have often demanded what they call "strong action", not realizing that what is always necessary is wise action.

14 We see here in this matter the unfortunate triumph of communalism. We have battled against this, but, in the particular instance, we have failed and the consequences may well be serious for the whole of India. It would be some small gain if we realized even at this late hour, how perilous and harmful this communal mentality is and how it is impossible to build up a strong and progressive India if we permit these reactionary and disintegrating forces to have play in this country. It does little good to blame others. Others will go wrong. The question always is how far we are functioning rightly. If we act rightly, then it does not very much matter what others do.

15 The city of Delhi acted rightly and magnificently in the welcome it gave to the Pakistan Prime Minister. By doing so, it changed the whole atmosphere of discord and applied the healing touch to a situation that was heading towards disaster. Here we have an instance of how right action always pays. But it cannot undo all the effects of wrong action.

16 In the Jammu and Kashmir state, the news of these sudden changes naturally came as a shock. While people knew of the internal troubles and discords, and there were all kinds of rumours about coming changes, still the actual events came as a shock. There have been many demonstrations

and there has been some violence resulting in shooting and deaths. Considering everything, this has not been as much as might have been expected. The Indian Army has kept wholly aloof. Some misunderstandings, however, have arisen because the local militia wears a uniform which is rather similar to the Indian Army uniform. I believe they were supplied some years ago from our surplus stocks. Outwardly conditions are generally peaceful, but there can be no doubt that there is a good deal of sullenness and discontent among the people. On the other hand, there is also a certain realization that these changes had become inevitable. Most of the workers of the National Conference have supported the present Government. That Government will have to face the elected Assembly when it meets and its fate will naturally depend upon a vote of that Assembly. The Government believes they are likely to have a substantial majority in that Assembly. Nevertheless, the situation continues to be a difficult and distressing one and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the new Prime Minister, has to carry a very heavy burden. He deserves all our sympathy and help.

17 Much has been said during these past few days, about foreign interference²⁸ and about the activities of the U.N. observers.²⁹ There has been foreign interference of some kind or other during the past several years, and the behaviour of the U.N. observers in the past had often been strongly objected to. But I think that the great stress laid upon this in recent days has been exaggerated. It is not good to exaggerate.

28 Adlai Stevenson's talks with Sheikh Abdullah during his visit to Kashmir from 1 to 3 May 1953, Dulles' visit to New Delhi about the same time, and publication by *New York Times* on 5 July 1953 of a map of Kashmir showing it as an independent territory, led to speculation that the United States was encouraging Sheikh Abdullah to proclaim the independence of the Kashmir Valley.

29 On 11 August, the Jammu and Kashmir Government charged the U.N. observers with incitement of pro-Abdullah demonstrations and warned them that their diplomatic immunity might be withdrawn.

and, in any event, in the present circumstances, it will not help to cast blame on all and sundry Where necessary, of course, action has to be taken

18. In the talks I had with the Pakistan Prime Minister, some considerable progress was recorded in regard to the evacuee property issue I think we can hopefully look forward to progress in this matter. So far as moveable property and the like is concerned, we have practically arrived at an agreement which will be announced soon.

19 I have referred to communalism above and the dangers that flow from it I am beginning to get as anxious about the disintegrating influences resulting from the demand for linguistic States in various parts of the country. Some recent speeches delivered in the House of the People in the course of the debate on the Andhra Bill are alarming in their general purport and outlook ³⁰ People talk lightly about the disintegration of Hyderabad and about chopping and cutting up India all over the place. We have decided to appoint a high-power commission to consider the reorganization of States That will be done But, if many of us still think in this narrow way, I fear that our progress as a nation will be much delayed and, indeed, we will go backwards rather than forwards There is an inherent tendency towards disintegration of India, possibly resulting from our caste system and our general outlook on life. We do not mix easily and we live in compartments Even in foreign countries, Indians are apt to lead their separate provincial lives How are we to build up a nation if we think and act more or less in a tribal way? This is a matter of importance and it is not enough for us merely to pass resolutions against provincialism and casteism, but to feel strongly that they are dangerous and should be fought

³⁰ During the debate some members demanded the immediate formation of Kannada, Marathi and Punjabi-speaking States and a few demanded a Urdu-speaking State also There was demand for the immediate dissolution of the Hyderabad state and deposition of the autocratic Nizam A change in the name from Madras to Dravidistan was also suggested.

our peace The U.S. Government appeared to have gone all out to please Dr. Rhee.³² They have agreed to a military alliance with South Korea and they have apparently given them assurances which have not all been made public. Among them, apparently, is the promise to oppose India's inclusion in the political conference. But the most important of these assurances is that, after three months of the political conference, if no success is obtained according to their thinking, they will walk out of it. That means that they will put an end to the conference. If this is the approach of a Great Power like the United States, not to mention South Korea, then indeed, the outlook for the conference is bleak. It is obvious that Dr. Syngman Rhee does not want that conference to succeed and he can block success therefore and then walk out at the end of it. And now it appears that the United States would probably support him in many matters, and more especially, in walking out. Dr. Rhee has clearly said that he will start war again. So, if the world is to be dominated by Dr. Syngman Rhee, we can confidently and hopelessly look forward to war at the end of 90 days of the political conference.

21. If this was not disconcerting enough, we have been told by the 16 Powers who were fighting on behalf of the U.N. in Korea, that in case of aggression on behalf of China, they will immediately retaliate and the war then will not be a limited one.³³ We have been further told by some eminent people that, when this war comes, no holds will be barred and atomic weapons will be used.³⁴

³² On 8 August, a mutual defence treaty between South Korea and the United States was signed.

³³ The joint declaration by sixteen members of the U.N. Command signed on 27 July was made public on 10 August 1953. It warned that members would jointly and unitedly resist in case there was a breach of the armistice and then "it would not be possible to confine hostilities within the frontiers of Korea."

³⁴ The statement to this effect was made on 6 August by General Mark Clark, the U.N. Supreme Commander in East Asia.

22. All this is an amazing approach to a peace conference. If this is the mentality just after the armistice, what can be expected from the political conference? There is evidently much difference in opinion between the U.S.A. on the one side and the United Kingdom, Canada, France and many other countries on the other. The latter have pressed for the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the political conference and have also proposed India. The United States have reluctantly agreed to the inclusion of the Soviet Union but with qualification. They are absolutely opposed to India being there, no doubt because President Syngman Rhee is opposed to it. While we see this difference of opinion between the Western European and other countries and the U.S., we also see repeatedly that finally the viewpoint of the U.S.A. prevails in most matters. The resolutions put forward before the General Assembly are not very happy and it is not clear that a political conference will emerge out of this wrangle. Even if it emerges, it is hardly likely to be an effective instrument for peace.

23. As regards the position of India, we have made it clear that we have no desire to push ourselves anywhere. But we see no reason also to withdraw merely because a particular country does not like us. I do not know how the situation may develop in New York, but our present instructions to our delegation are to abstain from voting on the various resolutions and to make a statement explaining our viewpoint. That is in keeping with the neutral position that we have taken up and that has been actually entrusted to us in Korea.

24. While there is so much talk of war and competition in armaments, and the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb, it is well to remember that the ultimate success of any country or group of countries will depend upon the economic strength and progress of that country or group. The Soviet challenge is obvious enough in the military sphere. Perhaps because of this, another aspect is not so much before us, and yet this economic aspect is important and significant. Recent economic developments in the Soviet Union have shown marked progress. The Soviet output per head already surpasses that

of Italy and is likely to catch up soon with the present level of French output per head. It is estimated that, at this rate, it will overtake the British output per head in another seven or eight years. It has to be remembered that the population of the Soviet Union is about 200 million. Thus not only the output per head but the total output will be very considerable, and, within a decade, the Soviet Union may well have an absolute preponderance economically over Western Europe, unless progress in Western Europe goes ahead faster than at present.

25. The Soviet figures that are available to us are probably exaggerations. Even allowing for such exaggerations, they are significant. Prices have been cut repeatedly in recent years and consumption has gone up. While maintaining a high rate of expenditure on armaments, there has been an increasing expenditure on civilian capital development, resulting in an increasing standard of life.

26. While this is happening in the Soviet Union, we see the rapid disintegration in France. A great series of strikes recently have demonstrated this.³⁵ Indo-China continues to drain the life-blood of France and, in spite of all this, France is going in now for a new phase of very active repression in Morocco.

27. Thus the Soviet challenge on the economic plane is probably more significant than even that on the military plane. Every European country has to face the dilemma of spending on increasing armaments or in keeping up its social services and standards of life. Generally speaking, the

³⁵ Life in Paris and other cities was disrupted between 7 and 14 August as a result of the strikes by workers in Government and State-owned enterprises to press the demand for the withdrawing the freeze on salaries by the Government, higher bonus against recent budget proposals which increased tax on essential commodities, and for the dismissal of Laniel's right-wing Government and installation of a left-wing Cabinet.

latter tend to go down. If this burden of armaments continues, there can be little doubt that Western Europe will remain static and it might even go down a little, while the Soviet Union, which incidentally has reduced its armament expenditure somewhat, goes on advancing in the economic domain.

28 Generally speaking, rain has been bountiful all over the country. Indeed, it has been more than that and widespread floods have taken place bringing enormous damage and misery in their train. The Kosi river in Bihar, of evil reputation in this respect, has spread out over a vast area of Bihar converting this into something like an inland sea. The damage done by this can well be imagined. Godavari in Andhra Pradesh has now done something which apparently it had never done before. The whole delta has been flooded and it is even difficult to get news of this area, because access is not easy. It is said that in Rajahmundry town alone four hundred people died. Possibly many more have died elsewhere. The rice crop of this granary of the South has been ruined.

29 It is most unfortunate that this heavy blow should have fallen on Andhra just on the eve of its establishment as a separate State. We are taking urgent steps to organize help and all our Ministries of the Central Government have been instructed to help in every way. Our Army has been so instructed also. I am issuing an appeal for funds.³⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

³⁶ On 23 August, Nehru appealed for contributions to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund.

New Delhi
19 September, 1953

As you are aware, it has been announced on behalf of the Government of India that a high-powered commission will be appointed to consider the question of redistribution of provinces. The Hyderabad Congress passed a resolution to this effect¹ and the Government of India accepted that approach to this question. We had said that we would take action after the establishment of the Andhra State. There is no immediate hurry to appoint this commission, but I do not think it will serve any useful purpose to delay this. I should like it to be appointed before the end of the year, preferably some time in November, so that it might start work with the beginning of the New Year.²

Two questions arise:

- (1) Composition of the commission, and
- (2) Functions and terms of reference.³

The composition is important. Most of those with whom I have discussed this matter are of opinion that there should not be more than three members. These three persons should be outstanding and impartial. Those connected in any way with linguistic provinces agitation should of course be excluded. I should like you to think over this matter and to

* A note sent to all Chief Ministers

1 See *ante*, p 238.

2 Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha on 22 December 1953 that the Government had set up a commission to inquire into and report by 30 June 1955 on the reorganization of States in India.

3 The commission was asked to investigate the problem in all its bearings and recommend "the broad principles which should govern the solution of the problem and the broad lines on which particular States should be reorganized."

suggest possible names. Should we have a judge of the Supreme Court in this commission or other judges?

As regards the functions and terms of reference, I think that they should be general and that we should not go into any detail. We should not mention any particular demand for a new province or for the alteration of the boundaries of any province. We should leave all these matters to the discretion of the commission.

I would suggest that the commission should not take any public evidence. They can consult any individual or group privately. They can receive memoranda. As far as possible, all this should be on the confidential basis. It is desirable to avoid public agitations on these issues.

I would suggest to the commission to consider this problem of redistribution of States in the broadest way without going into specific details about boundaries, etc., to begin with. Having come to some broad conclusions, they should present an interim report to Government. This report should also be published and public reactions noted. The Government might then give their own views on this subject to the commission.

The second stage will be for the commission to consider the problem in greater detail and perhaps give some priorities.

This is the general line of my thinking at present. Before we consider this matter further, I shall be grateful to have your views and advice. I am enclosing a copy of the Congress resolution as passed at Hyderabad ⁴

May I expect a reply from you, say, by the first week of October? That reply will, of course, be rather general at this stage.

I would request you to keep this matter secret.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 September, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

My colleague, the Home Minister, Dr. Katju, is sending you separately a note on the reform of judicial administration in India. This note is a preliminary approach to this problem and we should like to have your comments on it before we consider it in detail. We shall also consult judicial authorities and others concerned. We do not, however, wish to go through any lengthy process of consultation. That would delay matters too much and we are anxious to go ahead. We shall make every effort to produce a Bill for Parliament next November.

2. I want to share with you a certain apprehension that is growing within me. I feel that in many ways the position relating to minority groups in India is deteriorating. Our Constitution is good and we do not make any distinction in our rules and regulations or laws. But, in effect, changes creep in because of administrative practices or officers. Often these changes are not deliberate, sometimes they are so.

3. In the Services, generally speaking, the representation of the minority communities is lessening. In some cases, it is very poor indeed. It is true that some of the highest offices in the land are occupied by members of these minority communities. They occupy high places also in our foreign missions. But in looking through Central Government figures, as well as some others, I am distressed to find that the position is very disadvantageous to them, chiefly to the Muslims and sometimes others also.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters.

4. In our Defence Services, there are hardly any Muslims left. In the vast Central Secretariat of Delhi, there are very few Muslims. Probably the position is somewhat better in the provinces, but not much more so. What concerns me most is that there is no effort being made to improve this situation, which is likely to grow worse unless checked.

5. It is all very well for us to say that we shall not pay any attention to communal and like considerations in appointments. I am no lover of communalism and its works. Indeed, I think it is the most dangerous tendency in India and has to be combated on all fronts. But, at the same time, we have to realize that in a vast and mixed country like India we must produce a sense of balance and of assurance of a square deal and future prospects in all parts of the country and in all communities of India. If the tendency is to upset any balance or to emphasize one aspect at the cost of another, the result is a lack of equilibrium and dissatisfaction and frustration among large groups.

6. This is exactly what is happening and it is not a good thing. I think we should make a very special effort to check this wrong tendency in so far as the Services are concerned. The question is a wider one than the Services, although the Services are an important part in the texture of India. We have to create a sense of partnership in every group and individual in the country, a sense of being a full sharer in the benefits and opportunities that are offered. It is only then that we produce the right attitude of mind. Nothing seems to me so unbecoming as to preach loyalty to others, meaning by that word "loyalty" that everyone should fall in step with us. This is very much like the approach of the Communists in some parts of the world and of the Americans in other parts of the world, each of whom demand uniformity and submission to their way of thinking and life. That brings conflict in the international sphere, and a like approach in the national sphere must inevitably lead to conflict also, apart from being intrinsically wrong.

7. I have referred to Muslims above, but this applies to Christians and others also. Unfortunately there is a feeling

of apprehension among a large number of our Christian countrymen and countrywomen, and many of them feel uncertain of their place in India in the future. We have always to remember India as a composite country, composite in many ways, in religion, in customs, in languages, in ways of life, etc. An attempt by the majority groups to impose itself on others can only lead to inner conflicts, which are as bad as outer conflicts. The basic problem for us today in India is to build up a united India in the real and inner sense of the word, that is, a psychological integration of our people.

8. I find the language approach is often not very happy, though I think there has been an improvement in it lately. We want Hindi as the national language and I think it is quite essential that this should be so. We have to work for it. But the method of working for it is of the highest importance. If that method is not the right one, then we get further away from our objective. The appeal of language is a very intimate and far-reaching one and has to be dealt with with the greatest care. Anyone who has studied the history of Europe will find that language conflicts have created more difficulties than almost anything else. He will find that every attempt at the suppression of a language has had the opposite effect. With this experience behind them, Europeans now tend to accept even a variety of languages in order to avoid any appearance of suppression or conflict. Small countries recognize officially several languages and sometimes even more than one script.

9. The right approach should always be a positive approach of encouraging a language such as Hindi, never of discouraging any other or discriminating against any other. The whole question of linguistic provinces would lose part at least of the passion that accompanies it, if we are absolutely fair to every language and give it freedom of growth.

10. The question of Urdu, and the way it is being treated in many parts of India, has distressed me greatly. This is not only for cultural reasons but even more so for basic political reasons. I could enter into the merits of this question and I

think these merits are very substantial. But in such matters it is not merely merit that counts but a psychology that is created and the mental reaction that is produced among large numbers of people. There is no doubt at all that there are large numbers of people who speak and write Urdu. In the Punjab, in Delhi, and in the northern U.P., a very considerable number do so. In many other parts of India there are large groups, especially in the big cities. In fact, there are such groups all over India and sometimes the numbers are fairly large. I was surprised to find the number of people speaking and writing Urdu in the South, especially in the border regions of Hyderabad and Andhra. When I go there, my language is easily understood by most of people.

11. That fact alone is important as showing that Urdu has a certain vitality in India, and creating an impression that we are against it must hurt those large numbers of people and make them feel that we are against something that they cherish. The test of this, as of other matters, is not what we feel about it but what those concerned feel; not what a majority thinks but how a minority reacts, for our objective always is to produce a sense of fulfilment in the minds of the minority.

12. When I speak of Urdu, I include the Urdu or Persian script. This may be alien to us in some historical sense, but it has been in use in India to a considerable extent for many hundreds of years. It has been and is today a link with the world of Western Asia and partly Central Asia. It connects us politically and otherwise with countries whose friendship is important to us.

13. From the cultural point of view, Urdu brings in some trends which have in the past strengthened Hindi and in future might well do so. It is of course not a rival of Hindi; it cannot be. It may even gradually lessen in significance in India. That will be a historical development. Gradually Hindi and Urdu might well approximate in phraseology and structure. The Nagari script is bound to become much more widespread as it should. But to endeavour to do this by

creating an impression of suppressing Urdu and its script is a bad policy and is a narrowing of our cultural outlook. Incidentally, it is opposed to the scheme of our Constitution.

14. But I am most concerned with the effect produced on large numbers. Even if that effect appears to us to be unreasonable, it is nevertheless a fact to be reckoned with both from the political and the cultural points of view. We have to meet that situation wisely. There can be no doubt that there is a very strong feeling of distress and frustration, which is not confined to Muslims alone, but which is shared by a considerable number of Hindus and others, in regard to present policies being pursued relating to Urdu and its script. In some provinces, Government have taken definite steps to discourage Urdu and have stopped giving aid to schools where Urdu is taught. Many children and their parents who want to learn Urdu have no opportunity of doing so. Active and aggressive campaigns against Urdu are in progress in many places, as if Urdu were some dangerous enemy in our ranks. If that is so, then we tend to make those who believe in it also feel not only unhappy but rather hostile. I feel strongly on this subject because all my cultural standards are affected by it. Even more so, the future integration of India appears to me to suffer. Most of us seem to have forgotten the wisdom that inspired Gandhiji in his approach to some of the vital problems of our country. Among them was the language problem and he laid the greatest stress on our encouraging Urdu. Conditions have changed since then and perhaps we cannot go as far as Gandhiji wanted us to go in this respect. But the basic approach must still be the same and it would be an ill day if we surrendered to popular clamour and prejudice in this or any other matter.

15. The feeling of nationalism is an enlarging and widening experience for the individual or the nation. More especially, when a country is under foreign domination, nationalism is a strengthening and unifying force. But, a stage arrives when it might well have a narrowing influence.

Sometimes, as in Europe, it becomes aggressive and chauvinistic and wants to impose itself on other countries and other people. Every people suffer from the strange delusion that they are the elect and better than all others. When they become strong and powerful, they try to impose themselves and their ways on others. In their attempt to do so, sometime or other, they overreach themselves, stumble and fall. That has been the fate of the intense nationalism of Germany and Japan.

16. But a more insidious form of nationalism is the narrowness of mind that it develops within a country, when a majority thinks itself as the entire nation and in its attempt to absorb the minority actually separates them even more. We, in India, have to be particularly careful of this because of our tradition of caste and separatism. We have a tendency to fall into separate groups and to forget the larger unity.

17. Communal organizations are the clearest examples of extreme narrowness of outlook, strutting about in the guise of nationalism. In the name of unity, they separate and destroy. In social terms they represent reaction of the worst type. We may condemn these communal organizations, but there are many others who are not free from this narrow influence. Oddly enough, the very largeness of India, which is a world in itself, tends to make the people living in it complacent, rather ignorant of the rest of the world, and narrow-minded. We have to contend against these forces.

18. The recent developments in Kashmir have been welcomed by many people who perhaps do not realize that they have added to our difficulties very much in the future. Those developments were inevitable. In analyzing them, however, we can trace, as one of the principal causes, the reaction on the people of Kashmir of the narrow and communal outlook of many people in India. I am not merely referring to the agitations conducted by the Jan Sangh or the Praja Parishad, though they played a very important role. If India is to be really great, as we all want her to be, then she is not to be exclusive either internally or externally. She has to give up

everything that is a barrier to growth in mind or spirit or in social life.

19. There is another and different matter to which I should like to draw your attention. That relates to women. During the last general election, I laid great stress on having women candidates. In spite of my efforts, relatively few women were put up as candidates or were elected. In our political organizations today there are not many women functioning, and yet the standard of Indian womanhood is high, and Indian women have brought us more credit in the world than perhaps the men. A nation cannot go far ahead unless it gives full scope to its women. The Chinese revolution was important in many ways, but an aspect of it, which is perhaps not so well known, was the great change it brought about in the status of women. This was the basic revolution.

20. Apart from these reasons, there is the strictly political reason of women forming roughly half our electorate. Having given them the vote, we must follow it up by opening out other doors to them. If we do not give them these opportunities, then we ignore half the electorate which obviously is the height of unwisdom.

21. I have ventured to write to you frankly about some ideas in my head and I would like you to think about them. These are important matters affecting our future.

22. I am afraid I have been remiss in sending you my usual fortnightly letter. This letter is a special one and does not take the place of the fortnightly, which, I hope, will follow soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi*
28 September, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

It is a little over a month since I wrote to you and I must apologize to you for missing one of my fortnightly letters. All I can plead is heavy work and a multitude of preoccupations. I am writing this letter now from Ranikhet in the Kumaon Hills of the U.P. I came here three days ago and I am returning to Delhi tomorrow morning. These three days have helped me to deal with some arrears of work and have also given me some leisure to think of the Indian scene in its broader aspects. Unfortunately, we are so tied up with our day to day work and difficulties that we can seldom have an opportunity for a quiet survey of our work and of what is happening in this vast country of ours. We work, usually, under some kind of nervous strain, which is perhaps inevitable in the circumstances, but which can produce an unhelpful state of mind.

2 I am glad, therefore, that I came here, even for three days, and looked again at the Himalayan snows and breathed the mountain air. Nothing refreshes me so much as the sight of these high peaks and the fresh pine-laden air of these altitudes. I see before me here the great peaks of Nandadevi, Trishul, Kamet and Panch-Chuli and many other snow-covered peaks guarding our frontier and looking down upon the vast plains below. Ranikhet is a lovely place and it is peculiarly well situated for excursions, small or big, even right up to the high mountains. I like these Kumaon Hills.

* The letter written at Ranikhet was despatched from New Delhi

Generally, however, whenever I could find two or three days, I have preferred to go to some part of Kashmir. There is a peculiar something in the atmosphere there which affects the senses in a special way, if one is receptive to it. But, in existing circumstances in the Jammu and Kashmir state, I have no desire to go there.

3. India has figured largely in international affairs during the past month. There have been heated discussions in the Political Committee of the United Nations¹ and later in the General Assembly itself.² Our representatives and our custodian force have gone to Korea.³ We have had two debates in Parliament on foreign affairs.⁴ You will have followed these events and these discussions and so I need not say much about them. The question of India being a member of the political conference in Korea became an international issue of significance. It became symbolic of an approach towards peace through the help of neutral nations. Unfortunately, the United States took up a very rigid attitude in this matter.⁵ Lately, they have somewhat relaxed and opened a small window which might lead to a reconsideration of that issue.⁶

1. See ante, p 356

2. The eighth session of the General Assembly opened on 15 September 1953 under the presidentship of Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

3. The last batch of the custodian force from India reached Korea on 10 September 1953

4. The Lok Sabha debated and approved Government's foreign policy on 17 September and the Rajya Sabha on 23 September 1953.

5. The U.S. representative at the U.N. had declared on 15 August that it would be "chaotic and perhaps catastrophic" to invite non-belligerents to participate in the political conference as this would be a violation of the armistice agreement which provided for the meeting of the "two sides" only.

6. The U.S. explained, after India's withdrawal of her nomination to the political conference, that "our position on the question was not directed at India as such. On the contrary, we feel deeply that at any later discussions or conferences on Far Eastern matters India must play a central and constructive role, and we in the U.S. will do all in our power to facilitate her participation "

I do not know yet what this will lead to. We are in no way anxious to be in the political conference⁷ but we are anxious to see some settlement emerge in the Far East. If the political conference is not held, then the whole structure of the armistice in Korea begins to crack up. We are specially interested in the future of the prisoners of war who are now in the care of our custodian force.⁸ The final decision about those who do not go back to their homelands was to be determined by the political conference. If that conference does not take shape, then who is to determine this future of the P.O.W.s? We cannot hold on to them indefinitely.

4. Our custodian force has had to face a very difficult position in Korea and there have been some kind of incidents almost daily. The P.O.W.s, who have been handed over to the custodian force by the U.N. Command, have behaved in a very aggressive and even violent way.⁹ I must say that this does not do much credit to the detaining side, i.e., the U.N. Command. It is evident that on both sides every effort has been made to influence and condition the P.O.W.s and make them afraid of going back to their homelands. On the Chinese and North Korean side the number of such prisoners is relatively limited. On the other side, it is large. There appears to be some truth in the Chinese allegation that quite a number of non-prisoners have been mixed with the P.O.W.s on the U.N. side. These people, apparently

7. Even though the Political Committee passed a resolution on 27 August favouring India's participation in the political conference, India announced on the next day that she had decided to withdraw.

8. The U.N. and the Communist Commands completed on 23 and 24 September the transfer to Indian custody of the non-repatriated prisoners of war after barracks for housing them in the demilitarized zone in Panmunjom had been constructed.

9. On 25 September, about 500 non-repatriate Chinese prisoners held an Indian Major to ransom for the release of a repatriated person. There was a minor clash between the Indian and the Chinese soldiers, but further trouble was averted.

representing the Chiang Kai-shek and the Syngman Rhee regimes, have created much trouble. It is difficult for our custodian force to distinguish between these and the real prisoners. Even proper lists of such prisoners have not been supplied

5 We sent about five thousand men of all ranks, including medical men, Red Cross, etc , to Korea. Normally, this force ought to have been adequate to deal with 25,000 persons. But when those persons are organized into groups and indulge in violence, and live in a camp protected by wire-netting only, then it becomes difficult for our men to guard all of them and to prevent them from breaking through. Because of this, we received an urgent demand from Lieut-General Thimayya for another battalion, and we have sent 600 more troops by air to Korea. With these additional forces, Major General Thorat,¹⁰ the Commander of the custodian force, will be in a somewhat better position to tackle this difficult situation. Meanwhile, our forces have drawn praise from all quarters for the firm and yet gentle and peaceful way in which they have managed to control the situation.

6 Parliament has adjourned after heavy work ¹¹ Most of the time of both the Houses was taken up by the Andhra State Bill and the Estate Duty Bill. Both these were of course important, and had to be passed during the last session. But, unfortunately, a number of important measures could not be taken up. I am particularly sorry for the delay in dealing with the Bills relating to Hindu law reform. I hope that first priority will be given to them during the next session of Parliament.

¹⁰ Lieut-General S.P.P. Thorat (b 1906) Commissioned in 1926, Chief of the General Staff, 1950, commanded the Indian Custodian Force in Korea, 1953, retired from active service in 1961, author of *From Reveille to Retreat* (1986)

¹¹ On 23 September 1953

7. Within a few days I shall be going to Kurnool to inaugurate the new Andhra State ¹² This is an event of considerable significance not only to the Andhras, for whom it has been a dream of long standing, but for India as a whole. We have started on the re-fashioning of India and this road may lead us far. As you know, it is our intention to appoint a high-powered commission to consider the question of reorganization of States. We intend giving this commission the widest discretion in this matter, so that they can consider this question from its all-India aspect, keeping in view all the factors, such as cultural and linguistic, economic and administrative, defence and security. The whole problem bristles with difficulties. I hope it will be considered as calmly and dispassionately as possible, so that the new picture of India that might emerge will not only give satisfaction to different parts of the country, but will also promote the unity of India.

8. It is of the utmost importance that the unity of India should be strengthened. Politically we are united as well as in many other ways. But there are certain disruptive and fissiparous tendencies which alarm me. We call them provincialism, communalism, casteism, faction, etc. There is too great a tendency for us to think in terms of some smaller group or other at the expense of the larger community. Perhaps, if danger threatens, these minor groupings will diminish in importance. But danger comes not only from outside but from internal division and weakness. In the great problems we have to face internally—social and economic—internal cohesion and a common purpose are of the utmost importance. A common purpose does not mean uniformity of thinking or a regimentation of ideas. It does mean a certain broad common approach and objective and a certain desire to pull together to achieve it in spite of our differences. That is the test of a nation. Even the nation idea is perhaps not quite adequate in the modern world, where

12. On 1 October 1953

nation states fight each other, but the nation idea is certainly a great advance over the semi-tribal ideas of caste or province, of religious grouping in politics. We have still to aim at and achieve the psychological integration of our country

9. Independence released many forces in our country which had been kept in check by foreign domination. Problems, which had been kept in the background by the struggle for national freedom, uncovered themselves and assumed importance. All the conscious and sub-conscious desires of people sought to find rapid fulfilment. At the same time, the discipline that is always necessary to build and construct in a big way, became progressively lacking. We have worked hard during the past six years and, I believe, have outstanding achievements to our credit. And yet, the question that we have always to consider is how far that tempo of progress keeps pace with events and with those desires and urges. Even the simplest enunciation of this problem is difficult to answer. To keep pace with population growth itself, a certain increase in national income is required, even if the general national level remains the same. We have to go much beyond this to make real progress.

10. We have deliberately adopted the method of planning and I think that one of the major services planning has rendered is to make people progressively planning-conscious, though, of course, most people's conception of planning is very vague. But planning for what and how? As I write this, I have before me an angry letter¹³ from our great veteran Shri Visvesvaraya¹⁴ who accuses me of not following his advice and concentrating on industrial planning only, and, more especially, the manufacture of automobiles. He reminds me

¹³ Written on 7 September 1953

¹⁴ M. Visvesvaraya (1861-1961) Engineer and planner, Dewan of Mysore, 1912-18, invented block system of irrigation and designed Khadakvasla Reservoir at Pune, Tringra Dam at Gwahar and Krishna Sagar Dam and Brindavan Gardens at Mysore, conceived the plan of Hirakud Dam in Orissa; awarded Bharat Ratna in 1955.

that he brought up this subject fourteen years ago in the National Planning Committee, of which I was Chairman, and, against his advice, we decided that planning should cover all national development and not industries only. Indeed, we then defined planning as follows.

Planning under a democratic system may be defined as the technical co-ordination, by disinterested experts, of consumption, production, investment, trade and income distribution in accordance with social objectives set by bodies representative of the nation. Such planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of economics and the raising of the standard of living, but must include cultural and spiritual values and the human side of life.

Shri Visvesvaraya objected to this wider approach, felt frustrated and resigned from the National Planning Committee.

11 And, yet, I cannot conceive of planning except on this wider basis and always with a view to the advancement of human welfare in the widest sense of the term. Planning has now become inevitable and even the ardent exponents of private enterprise in the United States of America have been compelled to accept planning, more especially in under-developed countries. But the question still remains, what kind of planning and what are the ultimate objectives to be aimed at? It is admitted now that Governments, even in the so-called capitalist countries, have not only to plan, but have to extend governmental functions. Private enterprise becomes more and more hedged in by State enterprise, and even that private enterprise is controlled and powerfully affected by State action. The nineteenth century idea of private enterprise has faded away completely, and there has been a dramatic shift in Western countries towards governmental control. The world capital market no longer exists, and world trade is restricted and managed and controlled in a variety of ways.

12 If planning is inevitable, what do we plan for? What kind of picture of society do we have in view? There is much

argument and a great deal of passion spent in discussing these problems. Some people, notably in the U.S.A., want to divide the world into Communist and non-Communist. That is a simplification which has little justification either in politics or economics. There are many gradations between the two. Apart from a few countries, the general approach of socialism is accepted. We have what is called communist socialism or social democracy. But, on the whole, the final picture of both is not very different, though the approach and the methods employed certainly differ. In India, most progressive groups, and certainly the Congress, have talked of socialism in more or less precise terms for the last thirty years or more. We have thought of it more in terms of social democracy, keeping in view the special characteristics and outlook of India. The Congress, as a great national movement struggling for political freedom, drew into its fold various groups with differing economic ideologies. But the dominant approach and objective was that of social democracy. There is no essential difference in this respect between the Congress and the Socialist Party in India, except that the Socialists tend to be rigid and doctrinaire. They called themselves some kind of Marxists, although they are bitterly opposed to Communists.

13. Does that ideal of social democracy hold still for us or are we drifting away from it? Shri N.V. Gadgil,¹⁵ the other day,¹⁶ said that while India was moving towards the left, the Congress, and more so the Congress Governments, were static and perhaps inclined a little towards the right. These terms left and right have no precise meaning, but they have a psychological significance, and that is important. If people generally in India feel one way and our administrative

15 (1896-1966) Congressman of Maharashtra, elected to the Central Assembly, 1934, Union Minister for Works, Production and Supply, 1947-1952, Governor of Punjab, 1958-62, Vice-Chancellor of Pune University, 1964-1966

16 At Pune on 24 September 1953

apparatus aims in some different direction, then there is friction between the two and no major co-operative effort is likely to succeed. It is true that a Government has to function responsibly and cannot live in an atmosphere of slogans. But it has to keep in intimate touch with the mass of the people in a democratic State. It has to keep its ears to the ground and its feet on the soil.

14 To come back to planning, what do we plan for? We have to take as our base not only the economic conditions prevailing in the country, but the social characteristics of our society. The two are linked together. We have to think of striking a proper balance between material advance and other possible goals. What is our scale or standard of values? It is difficult to say and they are likely to vary among different groups. Certainly economics comes in. But, presumably, there are other factors also. We talk about priorities. There are the obvious priorities between industry and agriculture, between consumption and investment, between investment in public works and other productive activities, between investment in human beings and investment in material capital, and so on. We may consider this question in another way. How much importance should we attach and what priority should we give to fundamental science and applied science, both of basic importance to the world today? How much to education, how much to health? What risks should we take or should we avoid risks and consider security as essential? We talk of production, but the pattern of production will have to fit in with the pattern of consumption of the community.

15 A multitude of such problems arise which are certainly economic, but which are closely interlinked with social factors. Ultimately, any kind of progress, including economic progress, depends on the desire of the people for that progress and the social structure in which they live. Is that structure—political, social, economic, legal, etc.—favourable to such progress or does it impede it? The great era of material progress in Europe and America came when the old belief, encouraged by religion, in a predetermined

fate, gave place to a belief in man's power to control his environment and to change it. This was the spread of the modern scientific outlook. Such a background helps change and progress. If, on the other hand, a people believe in fate, in predetermination, in the effect of the stars on our activities, in astrology and the like, obviously the urge to progress and change is not there. The atmosphere is not favourable to it. I am not, for the moment, interested in decrying the virtues, such as there might be, of astrology. I am merely saying that this mental approach is not conducive to creating an atmosphere which vitalizes human beings and brings about change. Take again our general caste outlook or cow protection. All these may have some virtues, but they are uncertain factors. Caste petrifies society, prevents the mobility of labour and the change of occupations. Cow protection, oddly enough, leads to the lack of protection of the cow. In India cattle protection and the improvement of breeds of cattle are of great importance. But progress can only be made if we approach this scientifically and constructively and not in some negative and narrow-minded spirit.

16 You must forgive me for these vague generalizations. We come back, however, to the major problem of the day and that is employment and increasing the purchasing power of the people. In the more advanced countries it is now admitted that the objective should be full employment, and only a policy which promises more or less full employment is adequate. Obviously, we cannot suddenly produce full employment in India. But our goal must be that. How are we to deal with the present situation in regard to this matter? It is not good enough merely to say that we are doing our utmost, unless we produce adequate results. Many partial remedies have been suggested and they should be examined with care and adopted, wherever possible. But any large scale attack on unemployment, apparently involves large scale investment programmes, whether public or private. In a country like India they have to be very largely public. Such an investment programme requires not only the resources

for it, but the existence of a suitable environment. Merely throwing money away does not produce employment. Also the danger of too much inflation has to be avoided. There is always a tendency for democratic governments to seek escape in inflation. That is no remedy. The question thus is how to deal with unemployment in a large way and with fairly large-scale public investment without undue risks in regard to inflation.

17. There has been a good deal of discussion about unemployment and employment and we should welcome this public awareness of this vital problem. To some extent our discussions have been conducted within a certain framework of assumptions and premises. We have to consider whether we cannot explore some other avenue of thought and action.

18. Sometime ago we sent you copies of the Appleby Report¹⁷ dealing with public administration. I drew your attention to this then. The more I have considered this matter, and I have read this report two or three times, the more I have felt that we have to pay heed to Dr. Appleby's advice. Our administrative apparatus is, I think, good and can compare with almost any in other countries. But the old structure of the administration derived from the British does not fully fit in with democratic and development urges. I must make it clear that a good deal of adaptation has already taken place. But more is necessary. We have good men, but the system is slow-moving. Also there is far too much of social caste in our administrative system. It is interesting that an American like Appleby should point this out to us. Some of our rules and even some assurances given in the Constitution petrify this system in the Services.

19. In any State, and more especially in a democratic State, the psychological appeal to the people is important. They have to feel that they are partners in the great enterprise of running the State machine, and that they are sharers in both

17 See *ante*, p 296

the benefits and the obligations. The test of democracy is to create this sensation among the people. It was thought that elections under adult suffrage were adequate for this purpose. They go some way. But in a swiftly moving scene, something more is necessary than mere elections at stated intervals. In planning, especially, this sensation has to be created so that the people may feel that the plan is something that has been evolved with their co-operation and that they are responsible for its success. It was inevitable that in the first attempt planning had to begin somewhere at the top. Even so, there was, as is well known, a great deal of consultation. In future we should evolve some method of making the smallest unit in the village feel that it is consulted in regard to his particular problems and is thus helping in evolving or in varying the plan. This is still more necessary in implementing the plan. The official approach, though necessary, is not enough and has to be linked with this non-official approach and widespread attempt at co-operation. We have now in most States vast numbers of panchayats. If these panchayats could be drawn into the network of planning and its implementation, that would bring the plan to the doorstep of the villager.

20 Democracy has meant political equality. It means also a progressive economic equality. Our professed aims are to develop a society where there are no great differences and where opportunity comes to all. Any vested interests and vested privileges do not fit in with such a plan of society. And yet, even our Constitution and more so our economic and social structure and customs, protect many kinds of privilege and vested interest. There is some justification for them in the context of history, but we must always remember that they are anachronisms and the constant irritants to the people. In an economic sense, they might not make much difference, but they create an atmosphere of conflict and frustration and thus come in the way of our work. I have no doubt that these relics of old privilege will have to go. The question is whether we have the wisdom, as a people, to solve this problem peacefully and co-operatively.

21 I attach the greatest importance to the new national extension service which is a development of our community centre scheme. It has in it the seeds of a great revolutionary change in India. If we succeed that way, we can really change the face of India peacefully and without conflict. On the whole, the scheme appears to be progressing well and some thousands of village-level workers have been and are being trained. The community centres also are generally doing well. It is particularly gratifying to find that the contribution from the people in labour has been very considerable and has often equalled the expenditure by Government. You will be getting quarterly reports of the progress of the community development programme. You must have got the last quarter's report. This will help you to compare the performances of the different States and to get ideas of improving the community work in your own State. The project advisory committees have thus far only been utilized in the meetings of that committee. It would be desirable to associate their members in the actual implementation of the programme. Experience in the Punjab and elsewhere has shown that village people feel happy to be able to participate in discussions in the meetings of project advisory committees. Here again is an opportunity to associate the people both in planning and in implementation.

22 The community programme is making good progress in almost all Part A and Part B States. The exceptions are Mysore and Rajasthan. In Rajasthan there appear to be administrative difficulties and a shortage of technical and administrative staff. This might be got over, as the Chief Minister is anxious to make progress. The case of Mysore is sad in this respect and there is no immediate hope of improvement. Of the Part C States, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg and Cutch are doing well. Vindhya Pradesh, Ajmer, Delhi, Manipur and Tripura are unsatisfactory.

23 In Travancore-Cochin the Ministry was defeated in the

Assembly on a vote of confidence and resigned.¹⁸ There was no possibility of having an alternative government and the Assembly was therefore dissolved.¹⁹ A general election will take place as soon as it can be arranged.²⁰ Meanwhile, the Ministry will continue.

24 The position in Kashmir has improved in many ways and might be said to be outwardly normal. A convention of the National Conference, attended by between three to four thousand workers from all over the state, was held recently in Srinagar.²¹ This was a remarkable success and it supported Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's Government fully. This indicates that this popular organization is behind the present Government. At the same time, there are basic difficulties and we should not delude ourselves into thinking that the problem of Kashmir has become simpler than it was. The Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, has met a difficult situation with great ability and energy.

25 No particular development has taken place in our correspondence with Pakistan.²² This continues. The Pakistan press behaved most hysterically and demanded war. But it has toned down recently.

18 On 23 September 1953

19 On 23 September a caretaker Ministry led by A.J. John was asked to continue till fresh elections were held

20 The elections were completed on 24 February 1954

21 From 13 to 15 September 1953. The conference, approving the change of Government, expressed complete confidence in it and assured it of the fullest co-operation

22 Disapproving Mahomed Ali's suggestion of 27 August to appoint Admiral Nimitz as the plebiscite administrator, Nehru wrote to him next day that it would be better to avoid the global powers. On 3 September, Nehru suggested that the plebiscite administrator should be chosen from some small or more or less neutral country of Asia or Europe.

26. Some time ago, I issued a statement about internal conflicts in our universities.²³ I am much concerned with the state of our universities, and more especially the atmosphere that prevails there. Everyone talks about this and deplures it. But we appear to be rather helpless in dealing with it. Responsibility is primarily of the university authorities secondly of the State Governments, and thirdly of the Central Government. In effect, it is the responsibility of all of us and it is no good blaming others. Discipline has gone. It might be possible to enforce discipline, but force does not help when we are dealing with the minds of people. We have to create a new atmosphere among the teachers and the students and somehow prevent the universities from becoming the battle grounds of political parties. Money is required for our educational development, but it seems to me that it is not money that is the first need today, but some other effort to set things right. Here, as elsewhere, the human approach is necessary, and merely the official and governmental handling of the situation does not pay dividends. That human approach must be allied with firmness. Many people have begun to doubt whether our universities, as they are, are serving any useful purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

²³. Referring to the recent troubles in the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities, Nehru stated on 12 September that the university unions "should be voluntary and should have full freedom to choose their office-bearers and function as they liked... If the system needs to be changed, let us be prepared to do so, but let us not look on passively and allow the rapid deterioration of a place" meant for fostering "character, discipline, knowledge, co-operative endeavour and a little bit of wisdom."

New Delhi
17 October, 1953
Vijaya Dashmi Day

My dear Chief Minister,

This month began with the inauguration of the Andhra State.¹ This was a notable event from every point of view and I was happy to be present at Kurnool and to see the enthusiasm of the Andhra people. The Andhra State has difficult problems to face and it will require all this enthusiasm, goodwill and co-operative effort to make it progress as it should. It was with this end in view that we approached the question of the formation of the Ministry there. We did not think of this as some narrow party issue, but something which would bring as large a measure of co-operation as possible. Among the parties in the Andhra Assembly, the Congress Party was the biggest, but it did not have a majority. The burden for decision, therefore, fell on the Congress Party. All of us were of opinion that Shri T. Prakasam's² position in Andhra was so outstanding that his leadership would be of very great help. It was not our desire or his that we should try to injure in any way the Praja Socialist Party. But we did feel that, in the circumstances, Shri Prakasam could best function as an Independent and not formally belonging to any outside Party. In the Assembly

1. It was inaugurated by Nehru on 1 October 1953

2 (1872-1957) Barrister and Congressman, President of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, 1921-33, Minister in Congress Ministry, Madras, 1937-39, and Chief Minister, 1946-47, left Congress and formed the Praja Socialist Party, 1950, rejoined Congress on 26 September 1953; Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1953-54

naturally he would be associated with those who were supporting his Government, that is, the Congress Party. There has been some argument about this matter and we have been blamed for trying to break up the P.S.P. in Andhra. That was not our desire at all. In fact, Shri Vishwanatham⁵ came into the Ministry without resigning from that Party. It was our desire to have the co-operation also of Shri N.G. Ranga's⁴ group—the Krishikar Lok Party. But unfortunately we were not successful.

2. From Kurnool, I went to Madras, Madurai, Coimbatore and some neighbouring regions.⁵ This visit to the Tamil country was very pleasing to me and I was delighted to see the enthusiasm of the people as well as the work being done. Indeed, this enthusiasm was rather overwhelming. There was an expression of a contrary view here and there by members of the Dravida Kazhagam.⁶ A few of them displayed black flags and shouted "Go back",⁷ but they were completely lost in the vast crowds that welcomed me. From the point of view of numbers, the Dravida Kazhagam does not count at all. But I saw for myself, what I had read previously, that the whole policy of this rather extraordinary organization is built up on communal hatred, narrow-minded bigotry and violence. It represents the worst type of communal organization with no virtue in it of any kind.

3. T. Vishwanatham (1895-1979). Lecturer, Gujarat Vidyapith, 1922-23; Congress member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1937-35 and 1946; Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1953-54; Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1953-54, 1956-59, and 1952-67; Member of Parliament, 1957-70

4. (b. 1900). Kisan leader and Congressman from Andhra; member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1934-46, Rajya Sabha, 1952-55 and 1977-79, Lok Sabha, 1957-70 and since 1979.

5. From 2 to 4 October 1953

6. A party in Tamil Nadu founded by E.V. Ramaswami Naicker.

7. On 2 October at Madras.

3. A little later I visited Bombay for the naval review.⁸ This review in the lovely setting of the Bombay harbour was a great success and it made us proud of our small but efficient Navy.

4. Coming back here to Delhi, we have had the Colombo Conference⁹ and a number of distinguished representatives, including many Ministers, have come from the countries of South East Asia and Commonwealth countries. This conference has been meeting from day to day. Indeed, the officials met for a fortnight before the actual conference.

5. In the Punjab, Chandigarh, the new capital, has been inaugurated by the President.¹⁰ From all accounts this is going to be an ideally planned city, attractive and adapted to Indian conditions with also the advantages of modern city life. One of the biggest architects in the world, Le Corbusier,¹¹ was an adviser of the Punjab Government for Chandigarh. I wish that our other schemes of buildings, townships, etc should also take into consideration the planning and architectural aspects. This does not mean much additional expense, but it does mean paying some attention to beauty. Our engineers are good, but they cannot take the place of architects and planners.

6. You will have learnt with regret the death¹² of one of our young Ministers at the Centre, Shri Surendranath Buragohain,¹³ who was Deputy Minister for Works, Housing and Supply. He came from Assam and had more than justified his inclusion in the Council of Ministers. Indeed, I was thinking

⁸ On 10 October 1953

⁹ The fifth meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee held on 13-17 October 1953 reviewed the work done in the year 1952-53

¹⁰ On 7 October 1953

¹¹ For further see Vol 2, p 587

¹² On 4 October 1953

¹³ (1904-1953) Lawyer and politician, member, Assam Assembly, 1943-1949, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52, and Lok Sabha, 1952-53, Deputy Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, 1950-53

that he should be given a larger sphere of responsibility. He was one of those quiet persons who was liked by all and who had no critics. His death was a real tragedy for all of us. Another sad death during this period was of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar,¹⁴ the great lawyer and jurist, who helped so much in the framing of our Constitution. He had been ill and confined to his bed for a long time.

7. There was a meeting early this month of the National Development Council¹⁵ which consists, as you know, of Chief Ministers of States, Members of the Planning Commission and some Ministers of the Central Government. In the course of these meetings, we discussed the question of unemployment and other vital issues before the country.¹⁶ More and more we are driven to consider the basic approach in all our planning. What we have done is, I believe, good and, in any event, it had to be done. But the question always arises whether it is quite good enough to meet the necessities of the situation. There is a dynamism in this situation and it can only be met by an equally dynamic approach. Can that dynamic approach come from our adhering almost entirely to our present economic system and methods? Or, will it be necessary to vary them and adapt them more to the changing conditions of our country? On the whole, we have, as our models, the U.K. and other Western countries. Some people look with admiration to the Soviet Union or to China. And yet essentially our problems are different from both and cannot be dealt with the methods of other countries, though we can learn much from them. The problems of Western

14. (1893-1955). Leading lawyer from Madras; Advocate General of Madras, 1929-1944; member, Constituent Assembly and one of the framers of the Constitution; member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-53; died on 5 October 1953.

15. On 6-7 October 1953.

16. The Council reviewed the progress of the Plan during the first two years and recommended new schemes costing an additional sum of Rs. 150 to 175 crores to relieve unemployment.

countries like the U.K. are problems of highly developed industrial systems with a high standard of living. They are trying hard to maintain that standard. We have not merely to maintain the standard that we have got, which is very low, but to raise it rapidly, keeping in view the increasing population. There we have to think in terms not of maintenance but of fairly quick advance, and it is rather doubtful if we can achieve that advance by the methods applied merely to maintain a standard of living. The economic approach will have to be different.

8. Countries like the Soviet Union differ from us in many ways, notably because they have much more land and far less population. We can learn from them certainly but always keeping in view the conditions in our own country and the objectives we have in view. China is perhaps a nearer parallel because it is also a great and heavily populated country. It is difficult to have a correct appraisal of conditions in China, as it is perhaps not easy to have a correct appraisal of even our own country with its great variations in different parts and different groups. But a certain picture does emerge from China which indicates a degree of mass enthusiasm and a concentration of effort towards building up the country. Competent observers tell us that even now we are doing much more in the process of building up in India than has been done in China. We are in fact much more advanced industrially and in regard to communications than China. I was told the other day by a recent Indian visitor to China, who is a good observer, that it will take about ten to fifteen years for China to come up to the present level of India's development. It is difficult to judge of the future in this way because there are many uncertain factors. But it does seem clear that we have an advantage over China in our present state in some ways, while China has the advantage of having a tremendous unified effort, yoking mass enthusiasm in its train. Because of this, they can probably deal with their problem of unemployment more effectively than we can, although standards may be low. In spite of the present

enthusiasm in China, their difficulties are not likely to be less than ours.

9. Our approach cannot be dogmatic or a doctrinaire one. It must be pragmatic, keeping always in view the objective, which can perhaps be best stated briefly as a progressively fuller productive employment at a fairly rapid pace. This inevitably would mean greater production and higher standards per capita, provided adequate attention is paid to distribution. A pragmatic approach must be based on a full appraisal of the situation and the fullest available factual data. The Planning Commission has made, to some extent, this approach, but necessarily they were limited by the data available. The only way to get additional data is by scientific surveys, which have to be of the sample variety. Even in regard to the land question with which we are so intimately concerned, we really have not got adequate information. All this means a development of statistical surveys

10. I have previously drawn your attention to the Appleby Report,¹⁷ which I consider of great importance. Our Cabinet at the Centre has already taken some steps as a result of the recommendations made in that report. We are likely to consider the report still further and deal with certain basic considerations affecting our administrative system. That system, as the Appleby Report itself says, compares favourably with almost any in the world. The standard is fairly high and I must say that, on the whole, an attempt has been made with some success for the individuals in that system to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. All this is to the good. Nevertheless, as Dr. Appleby points out, the system was originally built up by the British Government from a different point of view. It has now to function in a democratic set-up and has to deal with a variety of social and economic problems with which the British Government were not much concerned. Also there is urgency and we have to achieve results rapidly. The present system is not especially

17. See *ante*, p 296

fitted for urgent disposal of business and we are constantly lost in long notes and repeated references and petty sanctions which delay and obstruct. Dr. Appleby's comments on this, coming as they do from a competent outside observer, are valuable.

11. This leads us to consider the set-up of our Public Service Commissions. These Commissions consist of able men. But they too represent a pre-Independence approach. They were meant essentially for choosing administrators of the old type and they base their choice largely on academic qualifications. They tend, therefore, to perpetuate their own kind and not to bring in that vital dynamic new element which is so necessary. How we are to deal with this problem is a difficult matter. But I think that we can do something with the co-operation of the Public Service Commissions themselves. If necessary, we should be prepared to legislate.

12. During the past six weeks I have written a number of letters to the Pakistan Prime Minister on various matters.¹⁸ I had one reply from him dealing chiefly with my complaint about the hysteria of the Pakistan press.¹⁹ The other letters have thus far remained unanswered. I realize that the Pakistan Prime Minister has had to face a difficult internal situation and many attacks on his policy from prominent men in Pakistan. In a measure he appears to have succeeded in solving the difficult constitutional issue of representation from East and West Pakistan.²⁰ That undoubtedly was a

¹⁸ See *ante*, p. 395

¹⁹ Replying on 5 September to Nehru's letter of 3 September, Mahomed Ali asked Nehru to mention any "specific instances" of the press and public men in Pakistan advocating war against India. He said that what appeared in Pakistani press was the "inevitable consequence" of what appeared in the Indian press and the provocative actions in India.

²⁰ It was announced on 3 October that Pakistan would become a federation with a bicameral legislature constituted of an equal number of members from both wings of the country and with a provision that no important measure could be adopted in either House without at least 80 per cent of the representatives from each of them voting for it. The formula was discussed in the Constituent Assembly in October.

triumph for him, but powerful voices are now being raised in East Bengal against this proposal.²¹

13. An Indo-Pakistan Conference was held in Calcutta.²² Some results were achieved but the principal points discussed were not decided and we remain where we were.²³ Indeed, in regard to some matters, especially relating to rehabilitation, we had thought that we had come to an agreement when I met the Pakistan Prime Minister. Nevertheless, no progress has been made.

14. In Kashmir, there has been a meeting²⁴ of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly which passed a vote of confidence unanimously in the Bakshi Ministry. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad has also been elected the Leader of the National Conference Assembly Party. The situation in the state has improved very greatly and might almost be said to be normal, though of course there are many undercurrents. It is really astonishing how Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and his colleagues in the Ministry have, by their policy and hard work, changed the entire picture and outlook in the state within two months. They have done so chiefly because of their economic approach. Some measures which they have taken have had a powerful and favourable reaction

21. The Socialist Party and the Communist Party, describing the formula as a piece of 'jugglery', called for fresh elections to declare Pakistan a secular democratic republic with full autonomy for its constituent units, and with Bengali given the status of a national language. The left-wing parties also proposed to oppose the formula jointly.

22. The conference held between 20 September and 3 October 1953 discussed the outstanding issues between East Bengal and West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Tripura.

23. While the two boundary disputes between East and West Bengal were settled and the travel system between India and Pakistan liberalised, specially in the eastern zone, no agreement was however reached on such issues as evacuee property, border trade, and the exchange of evacuees between East and West Bengal.

24. On 4 October 1953.

among the people. One of these was the removal of compulsory procurement of rice at a low price. This procurement has been a feature in Kashmir for a long time past and has borne down heavily on the people. In other respects also, there is a definite toning up of the administration.

15. In Ceylon, there has been a change of Government,²⁵ and Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake, owing to ill-health, has given place to Sir John Kotelawala.²⁶ It is possible that Sir John might visit Delhi some time in the future for a discussion of the Indo-Ceylonese problem.

16 Many important developments have taken place in the world during the last two weeks. There is, of course, the drama that is being enacted in Panmunjom; in Trieste, there has arisen suddenly a critical situation because of the U.K. and the U.S.A. deciding to hand over a certain area to Italy.²⁷ Marshal Tito²⁸ has taken the strongest exception to this and made it clear that he will take counter steps if any such thing is done.²⁹ This has embarrassed the U.K. and the U.S.A.

²⁵ On 14 October 1953

²⁶ (1897-1980) Member, State Council in Sri Lanka, 1931, Minister for Transport and Works, 1947-1953, Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and External Affairs, 1953-1956

²⁷ On 8 October, Britain and the U.S. officially announced the withdrawal of their troops numbering about four thousand from Zone "A" of Trieste and its transfer to Italian control. They expected their action to lead to a "final peaceful solution" of the Italo-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste and the surrounding area.

²⁸ J.B. Tito (1892-1980) Member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from 1927; led the partisans in Yugoslavia against Nazi occupation during the Second World War; President of the Republic from 1953 till his death, one of the leaders of the non-aligned movement.

²⁹ On 11 October, Tito warned that his troops would enter Zone "A" in Trieste as soon as the first Italian soldier set foot there. A day earlier, Italy had rejected Tito's proposal to create two autonomous units in the Trieste territory as it would have cut asunder a part of the Trieste area from the Italian mainland.

Government's position and it is an act which has been in force since the day the British Government has suspended the Government of the place that it was suspended in connection. This has caused a sensation even in England and the Labour Party is much surprised now that the C.M. Council Assembly is carrying on its work under control of the present because the principal subjects are not being considered in public form. The most important question of course is that of India and the political conference. Present developments indicate that the principal pre-conference meeting will be held at Panaji. I don't know about this conference.

17. There has been much interest with developments in India since the first meeting where you have mentioned that in the development area of India I am not sure of giving an opportunity in the presence of war to exercise their choice of representation or not without pressure has become increasingly complicated. You will have observed these developments in the newspapers. We need not say very much attention in the relations of the South Africa

18. On 5 October the British Government suspended the 1951 Constitution of British Guiana, Guyana, owing to the alleged complicity of the ruling People's Progressive Party with the Communists. British Guiana was a British colony from 1815 and the new Government based on adult suffrage had been formed in April 1955 under the new Constitution.

19. On 11 October Labour M.P.s strongly criticised Government action and urged that the Labour Party demanded the issue of a white paper by the Government explaining their action in British Guiana.

20. On 12 October the U.S.A. and their allies in the United Nations met the Communist representatives at Panaji on 12 October to discuss the terms, the date and the modalities of the political conference.

21. Serious demonstrations took place in the P.O.W.s compound on 1 and 2 October 1955 and Indian troops were obliged to open fire. The prisoners refused to make use of the facility extended to them to discuss and explain their choice or reservation. If not, on the question of representation.

Government³⁴ and its rather extraordinary President. But it is a serious matter when the Secretary of State of the U.S., Mr John Foster Dulles, refers to the Neutral Commission as a "so-called" Neutral Commission. The U S. Government takes exception to the Neutral Commission saying that the prisoners are free to go back home if they choose. This is said to be an encouragement to them to go home. I should have thought that the very object and the name of the Commission indicated its purpose. The only thing to guard against is that there should be no pressure or coercion. It is clear that there is a basic difference of opinion in regard to this matter between the U.S.A and most other countries.

18 The last three days at Hind Nagar have been dramatic in the extreme. In so far as the Chinese prisoners of war are concerned, they have appeared before the explainers though under pressure. The North Koreans absolutely refused to come and practically stood in battle array to fight and be shot down. The problem before the Indian Custodian Force was a very difficult one. It was their business to produce these prisoners before the Commission and the explainers. Not to do so was to confess failure and to make the Commission futile. To try to use force to the extent of shooting down a large number of prisoners, was not only on the face of it distasteful and undesirable, but would also probably have led to the non-functioning of the Commission. This might well result in some Members of the Commission withdrawing.

19. Faced by this dilemma, General Thorat naturally asked for instructions from the Commission. The consequences of any action that he took were going to be political and far-reaching and it was for the Commission to decide. The

34. On 5 October, the acting Foreign Minister of South Korea, criticizing the Indian troops for firing on the prisoners, declared that his Government might "have to use armed forces" to expel the Indian troops from Korea.

Members of the Commission were not unanimous and some of them wanted to refer to their Governments. That is how the matter stands. Meanwhile, we have drawn the attention of the Secretary General of the U.N. as well as of the U.S.A. and U.K. Governments to these extraordinary developments.³⁵

20. I am sure you will agree with me that the behaviour of our armed forces in Korea under General Thorat has been exceedingly fine. They have given an example of calm strength, of dignity and discipline. They have been functioning under the most difficult circumstances, but there has been not a single case of even loss of temper. I am filled with pride of these young men and their officers. The Chairman of the Commission, Lieutenant-General Thimayya, and his alternate, Shri B.N. Chakravarty, and their advisers have also functioned with great dignity and have faced their problems squarely. There is no doubt that they have enhanced the prestige of India and of Indians.

21. In this connection, I should like to draw your attention to an appeal issued by a group of women in Delhi for a fund to send comforts and gifts to our soldiers in Korea, especially for *Diwali*.³⁶ I hope that there will be a generous response, which will indicate how much we appreciate the fine work they have been doing.

22. There is talk again about a Four-Power meeting and our delegate at the United Nations, Shri Krishna Menon,³⁷ has also pressed for this. Sir Winston Churchill has again

³⁵ Both the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and the Government of India protested against the South Korean Government's threat of armed action against the Indian Custodian Force. A protest note was also addressed to the U.S. by the Government of India on 9 October.

³⁶ The appeal was issued by Indira Gandhi and nine others on 8 October 1953.

³⁷ For b fn see Vol I, p 217.

rather vaguely referred to some such meeting. But the United States do not approve of it or indeed of any direct talks on world issues with the Soviet Union. For the present there appears to be little hope of any such meeting. Meanwhile, there is a certain hardening in the position. In the colonial sphere, France, as you know, acted with dictatorial vigour in Morocco and the position there is a bad one.³⁸ The national movement is being forcibly crushed. In Indo-China the war continues, though certain sections of French opinion are increasingly thinking in terms of some settlement. Apart from the strength of Viet Minh, which is opposing France, there is a growing feeling in favour of independence in Vietnam and the associated States.³⁹ We have had a visit to Delhi in connection with the Colombo Conference, of representatives of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This was our first contact with them, as we do not recognize these States. The representatives who came here expressed themselves privately with some vigour against French domination. The King of Cambodia, as perhaps you know, is claiming full independence from the French.

23. The colonial policy of the U.K. Government has undergone a marked change from the old days of the Labour Government. We have seen this in Kenya and East Africa, in the formation of the Central African Federation, and in British Guiana. Even in Egypt, there has been a hardening of the British attitude, and the success of the Anglo-Egyptian

³⁸ In September and October 1953, there was an increase in militant activities in Morocco and an armed organization to fight for national liberation was formed. On 5 October, the leader of the Nationalist Party spoke of the "Moroccan commandos" who were "doing their duty" and appealed to the Arab States to supply arms and money.

³⁹ The first National Congress met at Saigon on 12 October to draft the "claims the state will put forward at the forthcoming independence negotiations with France" which had, in July, promised to grant full independence to the associated States, Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

talks appears to be very doubtful. Unfortunately, General Nguib's Government has weakened itself internally by the arrest of Nahas and the heavy sentences on some old leaders. Nahas still continues to be popular in Egypt. Realizing that the Egyptian Government was facing internal difficulties, the British Government has tightened the screw.

24. The position in Africa is of very special interest to us. In a sense, Africa is our neighbour, even though a wide sea separates us. What happens in Africa is of significance to the world, but more especially to India. The development of settler dominions, with so-called self-government,⁴⁰ which applies to the white settlers only, would be a dangerous thing for India and of course much more so for the Africans.

25. As we developed our foreign missions abroad, we began by attaching greater importance to the European nations, because they rather fill the news. Of course, some of them are of great importance. But later we began to realize more and more that a country's importance to us has to be judged from our own particular interests and not because of its world position. Thus Nepal is of great importance to us, although it may be an unimportant country in the world. So also our other neighbour countries, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. Of course, also China. Because of this, there is a gradual shift-over in our viewpoint in regard to the importance of foreign missions and these neighbouring countries are going up in the list and we try to send our more experienced diplomats to them. In the same category as these neighbouring countries we must put Africa, whether it is Cairo or Nairobi, though different reasons apply to either of these.

26. I am writing this letter to you on *Vijaya Dashmi Day*, which is a day of rejoicing and public festival all over North India. This evening I went to the *Ramlila* celebrations in

40 Nehru had in mind the Union of South Africa, Kenya and the Central African Federation.

17 October, 1953

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two parts of Delhi. Each had hundreds of thousands of spectators and there was a gaiety and spirit of fun in the air. As I looked at these vast crowds, men, women and children, putting up with all kinds of inconveniences, dust and pushing about, and yet bent on enjoying themselves, I felt how deep were these festivals and others like them in different parts of India, in the minds and hearts of our people. I liked the spirit behind them. They were joyful and strength-giving and the story ended in the triumph of the good. I thought of our complicated western techniques for propaganda and felt how far short they fell of these old methods of our people. How can we yoke this popular enthusiasm to the cause of building up a new India? How can we make this cause a living adventure for our people? That is the problem before us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
6 November, 1953
Deepavali Day

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter was addressed to you on the *Vijaya Dashmi* Day. I have chosen another auspicious day to write to you—the *Deepavali*. While I write this letter, others are better employed in having a good time. Our people, in spite of all their disabilities and lack, in many cases, of even the ordinary necessities of life, know how to smile and laugh and enjoy themselves. That is a tremendous trait in a people, for it shows that they have not lost all perspective and have not become the victims of frustration and neurosis as so many have done in the more prosperous countries of the world. American visitors have often remarked to me how surprised they were when passing through Indian villages, with all their squalor and poverty, to see people, and children especially, smiling and playing. All our festivals encourage this spirit of gaiety and fellow-feeling. And so they help us to forget for a while life's problems and difficulties.

2. Life is difficult for a great majority of our people and is a continuous struggle from day to day. We talk statistically or otherwise of unemployment and low standards of living and bad housing and we seek to improve these conditions, and yet I wonder often how many of us are emotionally aware of these facts, even though they might know all about them on the intellectual plane. We read about a great disaster where

hundreds of thousands of people have suffered. We are pained somewhat and then forget it and get busy with our other work. But, if a serious accident to an individual happens before our eyes, we are more powerfully affected, because our emotions are roused by the sight and the nearness of the disaster. So also we are apt to take for granted the poverty of our people as a whole, or some epidemic which strikes down thousands, because it is distant and does not affect us intimately. If anyone near and dear to us or even an acquaintance or a person belonging to our own class suffers, then we feel it much more.

3 I travel a great deal in India and see vast crowds of people. They are friendly crowds and they give me a feeling of basic strength. And yet the sight of a child or a boy or girl without adequate food or clothing or house to live in always produces a sense of shock in me as well as a sense of shame. I compare my own comfort and well-being with the lot of that child of India who is our responsibility.

4 Recently I paid a visit to the flood-affected regions of Bihar¹ and I saw vast areas ravaged by floods caused by Himalayan rivers sweeping down in the plains below or by heavy rains. I pictured to myself the extent of this disaster which has affected, to a greater or lesser extent, millions of people. We try to help them and they help themselves. Some succumb, others survive and carry on. In the face of these enormous problems, our efforts to meet them seem small. We cannot allow ourselves to lose our balance because of some untoward happening or play of nature or even of man. Yet it seems necessary that we should have a full realization from the human point of view of these problems and not grow complacent and rather smug, as we are so often apt to do.

5 I have written to you more than once about the Appleby Report.² I have done so because it seemed to me that this

¹ On 31 October and 1 November 1953

² See *ante*, p. 296

Report laid bare some of the basic defects in our administrative system. I suppose the greatest defect of all is the feeling it generates of complacency and self-righteousness. Also the way it accentuates the division of class and rank and status. We have suffered enough from the caste system and many of us condemn it; and yet we put up with new social castes and do not think that these are as bad as the other castes of old.

6 Our Cabinet at the Centre has been giving much thought to some aspects of the Appleby Report and we propose to deal with this further. I shall keep you in touch with what we do; but I would like you also to think of these matters in a basic way. Superficial reforms and improvements may do a little good but we have to face a problem which is deeper and it is that consideration that I would invite you to give it. Only yesterday I wrote a note for the officers of my own Ministry (External Affairs). Perhaps you might be interested in this note, and I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of it.³

7 On this *Deepavali* Day, the thoughts of many of us will go to our soldiers in Korea, not only because we are interested in our countrymen, but also because they are connected today with one of the major problems which confront us in the world. Some days ago, a number of women in Delhi made an appeal for a fund for comforts for our troops in Korea, and, more especially, for *Deepavali* gifts.⁴ The response has been surprisingly good and has exceeded all our expectations. It is not merely the sum that has been collected but the vast number of people who have contributed in very small sums or in kind. That shows the widespread interest in our soldiers abroad and a certain pride in the way these people have conducted themselves in the most difficult of circumstances.

³ The note dated 5 November is printed at the end of this letter.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 408.

8 At Panmunjom, the tussle for mastery between the two major blocs in the world continues from day to day. It takes the form of unending argument and often of vituperation.⁵ A simple issue becomes a major one and often a deadlock ensues. No one is prepared to yield an inch. It seems odd that reasonable and responsible people should waste their time and energy in this way and not approach each other with a more reasonable and accommodating frame of mind. The reason of course does not lie in the petty issue which they discuss but in the basic conflicts that they represent.

9. Two or three days ago, I received a note written by Bertrand Russell.⁶ You might be interested in a quotation from it. He says: "A large part of the world is at present divided between two opposite lunacies. When I call them lunacies, I do not mean that it is a sign of madness to criticize the Communist regime or capitalist regimes. What is lunatic is the belief that the evils of either system can be amended by a world war. This belief is not universal anywhere, but controls the most powerful Governments. Each side believes that it is contending for a sacred cause, and that, therefore, the ordinary give and take of diplomatic negotiations would be unprincipled. In this situation, in which the nations march open-eyed towards disaster but do not see how to stop, the neutrals can play a great part and, among neutrals, India can be the leader."

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5 The two sides having failed during their preliminary discussions at Panmunjom on 26 October to reach an agreement on the composition of the political conference, decided on 4 November to refer the question to a sub-committee. Zhou Enlai had earlier, on 13 September, urged the U.N. Secretary General to associate India, the Soviet Union, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma with the conference.

6 (1872-1970) British philosopher, imprisoned briefly during the First World War for opposing the war; after the Second World War a consistent campaigner for nuclear disarmament, author of numerous books on philosophy and social affairs and of an autobiography in three volumes. Awarded Nobel Prize for literature, 1950

10 Bertrand Russell makes various suggestions for India and other neutral countries ⁷ I rather doubt if any of them is feasible I realize fully the lunacy that is driving the world to inconceivable disaster, but I know very well the limitations under which we function and the danger of our getting caught in a morass, out of which it might be very difficult to extricate ourselves Also, there is a feeling among some big countries that India interferes too much and this rather upsets their plans There is resentment and even a little jealousy at the importance that circumstances are thrusting upon India We have not sought that importance and, indeed, have tried to avoid it, but circumstances have been too much for us.

11. I believe that the step we took in sending our troops to Korea has been widely appreciated in India. But there are strong critics of it also who even demand that we should immediately call them back because they have to face difficulties there and might get entangled more and more. This seems to me to be an extraordinarily limited and perverted view. It was not possible for us to refuse this responsibility which meant so much to the world If we had not accepted it, because of fear, we would have sunk in our own estimation as well as that of others, and we would have helped in aggravating the perilous situation in the world There was no other country that could do it or that would have been acceptable to both the parties In any event, to talk of calling back our troops now is to say something that is rank nonsense and the height of irresponsibility

12 While slow progress is being made in the explanations of the prisoners of war at Panmunjom, there is a great argument going on between the rival factions about the

7 He had wished that the neutral countries "could draw up a completely neutral investigation of the evils to be expected from a world war . or perhaps India alone could draw up . the terms of detente, giving no net advantage to either side "

interpretation of the armistice agreement.⁸ I shall not trouble you with details of this argument and perhaps you know them already. Side by side the preparatory meeting for the political conference is also taking place near Panmunjom. It follows the usual pattern of interminable argument and repetition without agreement. It is obvious that if there is no political conference, the whole structure of the armistice collapses. What may happen then, is more than I can say. I do not think that any country desires war. But I am inclined to think some countries do not desire peace either. They want to live on the verge of war. If that is their objective, then one can understand how the pettiest differences of opinion become major issues.

13. Korea happens to be the most prominent issue at present and one with which we are more intimately concerned than any other world issue. The situation in Europe and, notably Germany, appears on the surface to be quieter, but there is absolute stalemate there also.⁹ Meanwhile, the other

⁸ While the U N Command and the United States considered extension of the period for explanations beyond 90 days to be violative of the armistice agreement, the other side insisted on such extension on the ground that the N N R C had failed in making adequate arrangements for seeking explanations. The two commands had been warned by the N N R C that forcing prisoners, especially the Chinese and the North Koreans, to appear for explanations could result in bloodshed. The U N Command also clarified that after the expiry of 120 days the prisoners would be reverted to civilian status as provided in the armistice agreement, "whether political conference meets or not."

⁹ On 28 September the Soviet Union, in reply to the note of the Western Powers of 2 September proposing a Four-Power Conference on Germany, insisted on discussion of the German problem as a "whole", and not of the question of elections only. The Soviet Union made abandonment of the European defence community treaty an essential condition for discussing the question of German unification when the Western Powers renewed their proposal for a conference in November. The Soviet Union also denounced the alleged remilitarization of Western Germany.

danger zones of the world, notably the Middle East, continue to simmer. In Iran, the recent changes have brought about the dominance of Anglo-American interests,¹⁰ even though there is continuous rivalry between the U K and the U S A , and there is not much love lost between them. Probably some temporary settlement between Iran and the U K will emerge. From Egypt, we have contradictory news from day to day. Sometimes it is said that agreement is near, at other times, a complete break has taken place. On the whole, the situation has developed to the disadvantage of the Egyptian Government.¹¹ Partly this is due to internal conditions in Egypt and the consequent stiffening of the U.K. attitude. The Egyptian leaders, I have no doubt, would like a settlement. But, for the present, they are very angry at the British attitude. They are also rather angry with Pakistan. It is said that attempts are being made, no doubt at the instance of the U.K. or the U S A , to bring about some kind of an alliance between Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Iran. This would be a modified M E D O. under the sheltering care of the U K , and the U S A appears to be playing a fairly important role in this. The old idea of M E D O. did not take

10 President Eisenhower announced on 15 September an immediate grant of economic aid of \$45 million to Iran in addition to the \$23 million announced on 3 September. This was hailed as a demonstration of American goodwill to General Zahedi's Government as it reversed the earlier refusal of aid to Iran as requested by Mossadeq on 28 May 1953. On 31 October, M. Abdullah Entezam, Iran's Foreign Minister, welcomed Eden's announcement of 20 October professing Britain's friendship to Iran.

11 On 21 October, Egypt announced the failure of the talks with Britain on the Suez issue. The differences centred round the question of a base for British troops in the canal zone. Egypt was willing to provide a base only in case of an attack on any Arab country, while Britain demanded it to repulse any attack on Turkey or in the event of a world war.

shape chiefly because the Egyptian conflict was not settled. This indirect approach of having an Arab State associated with Pakistan, Turkey, etc., is meant to bring pressure on Egypt. This has angered the Egyptian leaders. In the Sudan, elections are taking place.¹² They will continue for some weeks, I think.

14 From Egypt it is a step to the other countries of Africa where political awakening has taken place and is being met by stern repression. Kenya continues to be in a state of high emergency. I read the other day that 15,000 Africans had been killed by the colonial authorities in the course of this emergency. It is true, I think, that some wisdom is gradually dawning on the colonial Government as well as the European settlers there and they are beginning to realize that they will not be able to solve their problems in this way. The Africans, on the other hand, also have begun to feel that the way of violence will not yield any results. They have learnt through bitter experience. The Central African Federation has come into existence by an Act of the British Parliament,¹³ in spite of the protest of the Africans there.¹⁴ They will probably submit to it in a measure, but only very reluctantly and not for too long. In Morocco and Tunisia, the French colonial power apparently dominates the scene by virtue of its armed might.

15. There is, however, a growing feeling in France that their colonial policies, especially in Indo-China, will not

12 The elections took place from 2 November to 5 December 1953

13 The Federal Constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland came into force on 23 October 1953

14. Violent demonstrations took place in Nyasaland from 20 August to oppose formation of the Federation.

succeed.¹⁵ There has even been some kind of vague approach made for a negotiated peace with Ho Chi Minh. France would probably have got out of the Indo-Chinese war long ago simply because it could not shoulder the burden. But the U S A., in view of their larger policies, will not permit France to walk out¹⁶

16 To come back to India Lucknow has been very much in the news because of the student problem and the conflict of the students with the State authorities¹⁷ I have previously written to you how greatly concerned I am about our students I do think that large numbers of them are fine material, if well tackled and dealt with. But something has gone absolutely wrong in our educational system and the university authorities seem to be quite incapable of controlling their students or winning them over to a measure of co-operation. We could allot blame as we like to the students or to the university authorities or to others; but that does not solve the problem. Discipline is essential, but the discipline must in a large measure be a willing discipline. It is a tragedy to see bright young lives being wasted in this way and becoming more and more frustrated.

17. The present tragedy in the North East Frontier Agency,

15 During the debate in the French National Assembly on 23 and 27-28 October, M. Giovoni, a Communist member, described the French policy in Indo-China as "unconstitutional, contrary to the national interest, ruinous and hopeless," and accused the Government of "selling French blood for dollars." Some other members of the Opposition also urged that Vietnam should be declared an independent country despite Bao Dai's opposition.

16 On 30 September, the United States agreed to give \$385 million, in addition to the \$400 million already allotted to France, to meet the war expenses in Indo-China. The joint communique spoke of France's "heroic efforts" to "stem Communist penetration in South East Asia."

17 The forcible removal by the police of the students who were on hunger-strike in protest against the new university constitution resulted in clashes and rioting for a number of days until 5 November

not far from our Tibet border,¹⁸ has suddenly made the public aware of the difficult problems we face in these regions. A platoon of the Assam Rifles was ambushed and attacked and practically the whole party was killed. We have taken immediate measures and adequate forces have been despatched by the land route. Communications are so bad that it takes nearly three weeks to get there. Therefore, we have also sent some paratroopers by air and other action by air will be taken if necessary.

18. You will have followed the activities of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly which has decided to declare Pakistan as an "Islamic Republic."¹⁹ This indicates the vast difference between our outlook in India and the dominant outlook in Pakistan. From all accounts, the internal political situation in Pakistan is very fluid and changes might take place before long. In the Frontier Province new elements are coming to the top and the old autocrat of the province, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, has been practically pushed out.²⁰ There are strong rumours that Dr. Khan Saheb²¹ will be released soon and might even occupy some high office.

19. Mahatma Gandhi taught us that hunger-strike was a weapon. He warned us always about it and it was from a sense of self-purification that he used it. But now it has become a weapon which is often used for other purposes by ill-intentioned people. Students hunger-strike to enforce some demand on their universities. People have indulged in this to press for a linguistic province and Master Tara Singh

18 Ten persons including some armed personnel were reported missing on 30 October and believed to have been killed by Tagm tribesmen in the North East Frontier Agency

19. On 2 November 1953.

20. Abdul Qayyum Khan was defeated in the election for the Presidency of the N.W.F.P Muslim League

21. For b fn. see Vol. 1, p 279.

threatens to do so, so that some trivial change might be made in regard to the Sikh scheduled castes.²² It is really extraordinary how our politics are developing in curious directions. If it is difficult for us to understand them, how much more difficult must it be for a foreigner.

20. There has been a so-called crisis in our textile industry, where cloth piled up and number of mills threatened to close.²³ I do not feel much sympathy for these textile mills, who make enormous profits when the going is good, but who, when profits go down, are not prepared to face the situation. In the jute mills of Bengal also, astonishing profits had been made in the past. They have not been reflected in any way in bettering the condition of the workers. Retrenchment takes place as soon as business is not too good. The Government of India have taken some steps in regard to the textile industry and, for the moment, it appears that the mills will carry on.²⁴ Personally I do not think there was any real crisis.

21. Parliament will meet on the 16th November. This will be a short session because it must end before Christmas. I am glad to say that we have given special priority to the social reform Bills, relating to Hindu Law, which are pending.

22. Probably you know that we have decided to decontrol wheat and coarse grains, the only restriction being on their inter-State movement.²⁵ Even in regard to this exception, it

22. Non-inclusion of certain "Sikh backward castes in the list of scheduled caste categories" led some members of the Akali Dal to decide on 30 September the launching of an agitation in Delhi.

23. Accumulation of cloth produced over three months' had created a crisis in the textile industry in Ahmedabad resulting in closure of 2 mills and the threat of closure by 12 others, affecting about 12,000 workers.

24. The Government on 24 October announced tax reliefs on export of cloth and in the excise duty on superfine cloth and also the payment of compensation to the workers who had been retrenched.

25. This was announced on 5 November.

is intended that inter-State movement should be permitted under licence and through trade channels. This step has been possible because of the general improvement in the food position in the country. This improvement is particularly noticeable in regard to rice. The necessity for importing rice is no longer an urgent one. Prices of rice tend to fall and we have to keep watch over this. In particular, because of inter-State barriers, prices may fall rather steeply in some of the surplus States. It would be desirable for State Governments to take prompt action to procure quantities required by us to meet the needs of deficit States, as well as to create a reserve at prices which are reasonable and which might help in preventing any steep fall from occurring. Such a steep fall would neither be in the interests of the agriculturists nor of the general economic interest of the country.

23 Tomorrow I am going for a three-day visit to the Punjab. In the course of my visit I shall see Chandigarh, the new capital, which is taking shape now and which has attracted a great deal of attention in some foreign countries as a model and beautiful city. I shall also visit the Bhakra-Nangal. There is going to be a joint police tattoo at Phillaur, where teams from Pakistan will join the Indian Police. It is interesting and pleasing to see how easily Indians and Pakistanis fraternize, given a chance, in spite of our political conflicts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Enclosure

In the course of the last month or so, I have had occasion to refer publicly to our administrative system. In this connection, I have mentioned Mr. Paul H. Appleby's Report of a survey he conducted in India from September 1952 to January 1953. My remarks attracted public attention and have been commented upon in the press

2 An obvious question has been asked; why does the Prime Minister criticize his own administration? If he is dissatisfied with any part of it, it is his duty to change it or improve it. This is a pertinent question

3 As a matter of fact, the Cabinet has been considering this matter for some time past. Some decisions have already been taken, and I hope that others will follow. Yet the problem is intricate and beset with difficulty, and decisions at the top will not take us far unless there is appreciation of the necessity for such changes and a large measure of co-operation throughout the Services

4. My criticisms of the administrative system, as it is worked in India at present, were not meant to apply to individual officers or others but rather to the system. Indeed, Mr. Appleby gave high praise to the administrative apparatus of India and considered it one of the best in the world. He spoke with a large experience of many countries and with expert knowledge. That praise is worthwhile. But he also pointed out that the system that was built up in British days, efficient and adequate for the purpose as it was then, does not quite fit in with the changed circumstances of India today. These changes are, in the main, twofold. We have a democratic system of government now and necessarily structure of government must fit in with this. Secondly, we are faced with enormous problems of development and reconstruction and they have to be tackled with speed as well as efficiency. The old British system had no such problems to face and therefore was meant to deal with a static and more or less unchanging state of affairs. Today we are faced with a

dynamic situation which requires a rapid pace of development and continuous adaptation to changing conditions. We have thus to bring our administrative structure in line with these, or we fail.

5 I should like to say that, by and large, our officers have tried to adapt themselves to new conditions and have often succeeded in a large measure. I have little complaint against them as a whole and should like to express my appreciation of them. But they as well as all of us are tied up in a structure of administration which is slow-moving and has too many brakes and which encourages mediocrity rather than exceptional talents.

6 I would suggest to all our officers to read Mr. Appleby's Report and, more especially, certain parts dealing with the structure of the administration and personnel administration. He criticizes our procedures, our Rules of Business, the Secretariat Instructions and Office Manuals, and calls them "too didactic and confining, too detailed and unimaginative." He says: "They might be expected to contribute to the extreme insistence on following formal channels too literally and invariably. They seem to assume and to encourage that literal-mindedness which dampens the spirit, imagination and judgment which are important to good administration. Their basic pattern undoubtedly originated in colonial administration."

7 He refers to the diffusion of responsibility from the top to the lower levels and the lack of facilities for administrative delegation. Because of this diffusion of responsibility, there is no accountability. There are, according to him, too much scrutiny and too many impediments to action before the fact, and too little systematic review and scrutiny of action after the fact.

8. It is often said that Government employees are objective and politically neutral. They are expert advisers. Mr. Appleby points out that "in the name of impartiality, objectivity and political neutrality, the subjective judgments

of persons who will have no responsibility for what happens on the job are preferred."

9. He refers to the "class character of our Services, arbitrary and petrified vertical separations of administrative personnel into 'classes' and into a very few grades within classes, again rank differences in a fashion having an excessively caste character." According to him, "there are too many forms of class, rank and prerogative consciousness, too much insistence on too-uniform concentration of communication in formal channels, too much cross-reference including too many reviews of administrative papers by legal officers, too much control of detail, too much pre-occupation with 'saving' rupees and too little with large effectiveness" "The result" he says, "is an excessively and probably modernly unprecedented federal or collective kind of administrative system, cumbersome in manner, requiring too many inter-hierarchical conferences and utilizing paper in an unnecessarily burdensome way. Clearance is slow and laborious. Responsibility is diffused and concealed rather than concentrated and clearly identified Action is retarded before the fact, and insufficiently evaluated in course and after the fact."

10. These are just a few quotations from Mr Appleby's survey He refers to the way in which personnel are selected by the Public Service Commission and considers this as out of date and far from modern "Selection tends to be by one type of person, which naturally perpetuates its own type Selection is too much in terms of academic records and appraisals by experienced academic examiners, too little in terms of many other considerations highly important in public administration" "Too little attention is given to the important matter of developing the potentialities of subordinate employees already in service of Government" "Assignments of personnel to particular jobs are made too impersonally, too remotely from the point of responsibility for what is done on the job, and with too little regard for the emotional pulls of individuals towards certain kinds of assignments. At almost all levels of the public service it

seems to be too much assumed that one person of a certain 'class' is equal to another person of that class " Mr. Appleby, as will be seen, is constantly referring to this 'rank consciousness' in the Services which he considers bad "Rank has no proper significance except as it identifies responsibilities; here responsibility tends to become diluted and diffused, rank exaggerated "

11 "The very system", Mr. Appleby says, "that justifies classifying the Indian Government among the few that are most advanced was conceived in pre-revolutionary terms What has been strength will have its own peculiar weaknesses in the face of new dimensions and needs." There should be democracy within administration to have any valid and effective democracy in citizen-government relationships

12 Referring to the tremendous problems we face, he says, "Average persons, working in an average way cannot bring a wholly new day to India Very extraordinary people, bulwarked by many other extraordinary people, must carry the hope of India into the managements of tasks enormously difficult and complicated "

13. I have given a number of extracts from the Appleby Report, because I want to draw particular attention to certain criticisms that he has made But it is desirable for the full report to be read. It strikes at the very roots of our present administrative systems and, if we are to consider this problem with any understanding and related to present conditions, we must take a view of the full picture. When I say "we", I mean all ranks in our Services We have to get out of a certain rut of thinking and action

14 As I have said above, the Cabinet has been considering these matters and has come to some general decisions They will, I hope, be translated into specific conclusions and directions before long.

15 As I am particularly responsible for the Ministry of External Affairs, it seems to me that we of this Ministry should pay immediate and special attention to these

problems and begin making such changes in our method of working as we consider necessary

16. Some of the general directions which the Cabinet has given are as follows.

(i) The question of recruitment, more particularly to specialized Services, has to be examined afresh and entrusted to special Boards. In selecting candidates, special attention should be paid to a proper attitude and appreciation of social aims and not merely to academic distinction.

(ii) Greater emphasis should be placed on merit as a criterion for promotion in order to encourage really competent persons on lower levels, and seniority should only be a secondary consideration.

(iii) A periodical survey should be carried out with a view to drawing up a list of persons of outstanding merit in Government employ

(iv) The question of compulsory retirement or demotion of inefficient persons should be examined.

(v) Noting on files within a Ministry or between Ministries should be reduced to the minimum

(vi) Too much time should not be spent on small matters which, at present, often results in some of the more important matters being given little attention. There should be greater delegation of authority and methods should be devised to eliminate or reduce delays.

17. These are some indications of the changes that should be made. Others will follow.

18. We should try to give effect to these general directions in our Ministry as far as possible.

19. It seems to me that our younger officers and those in lower grades have little opportunities of training being given to them. They sit in their office rooms dealing with some particular matter and have little chance of widening their horizon or of training themselves for higher responsi-

bilities Methods should be evolved to give this training and there should be far greater contacts between officers of various grades. The class and rank character of Services must be done away with.

20 I do not know how far our younger officers, or for the matter of that, the more senior ones also, keep pace with modern thinking by reading books. A person who does not read worthwhile books fairly regularly, has ceased to grow and become static in a changing world In the External Affairs Ministry, we have to deal with this dynamic world and it is even more essential than elsewhere that we should keep pace not only with events but with the basic causes that lead to events. This requires a deeper understanding of the forces at play, which can only be obtained by a wider knowledge and constant application. I suggest, therefore, that all our officers should read important books which might help them to gain this wider knowledge. Our Historical Division should suggest names of such books

21. I have just been reading a new book by K.M. Panikkar, our Ambassador in Cairo. This is called *Asia and Western Dominance* and is a survey of the last 500 years of Asian history. Necessarily it is a brief survey But, so far as I know, it is the only book that deals with this broad canvas and gives a picture of this great continent during these five hundred years. For us in India, this period of Asian history is most important We know something of our own country's history and something about Europe Few of us know much about the other Asian countries. And yet, these Asian countries are, in the final analysis, far more important for us than most countries in the rest of the world We have got into the habit of attaching greater importance to European capitals and chanceries and, even now, our senior and more experienced men are sent there. This approach has to be changed. Apart from the four great countries of the world, namely, the U.S.A , the U.S.S R., the United Kingdom, and China, which are anyhow important, so far as we are concerned, the Asian countries are more important to us than European or American countries. In these Asian

countries I would include some of the African countries, which are rapidly growing in consciousness, and which have a special importance for India. In choosing our Heads of Missions in future, this fact has to be borne in mind.

22 In the old days in British times, every entrant in the Indian Civil Service had to begin his training in the districts. This gave him, or was meant to give him, some personal knowledge of the people and of local problems. It was a good training, in so far as it went, although it was directed to a particular limited purpose. In a democratic India, this knowledge of the grassroots of our people is far more important. And yet, our recruits to the Indian Foreign Service, as well as many others, have no chance of getting any such training. I think that some method should be devised to give this training. A foreign service officer, however clever he might be, cannot function adequately either in the Ministry or in a foreign country, without some intimate knowledge of the Indian scene as well as the background of our history and culture.

23. We are too apt to think and act in separate compartments. To some extent, that is inevitable. But we must always have a sense of the organic unity of the whole, whether this is the world of India or the Government of India or a particular Ministry. Life grows more complicated and so does administration. In industry and elsewhere huge organizations grow up and there is more specialization. The result often is that a specialized part is cut off from the rest and functions almost independently. Specialists and experts, very good at their own subjects, know very little about other important matters and might even be bad citizens. The Government of India is a huge organization. I have often said that I feel rather lost in it. It has to be because it deals with a vast variety of problems, and Ministries and Departments have to be created. They tend to function independently of each other, although there is of course co-ordination at the top. It must be remembered that the sum of a number of small group parts does not necessarily mean an organic whole. This applies to a Ministry like the External

Affairs Ministry, where work is done in numerous small rooms by numerous people, each pegging away at his particular job. Do these persons have any sensation of the Ministry being an organic whole, with all its parts fitting into each other, well oiled and running like an efficient machine?

24 I have put a few of my ideas in this note in order to make our colleagues in the External Affairs Ministry to think about these subjects. If they have any particular ideas, I would welcome them. Indeed I would like them to discuss these matters among themselves and put forward suggestions I hope, at a later stage, to have some talks not only with our officers but with others also.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi

November 5, 1953

New Delhi
15 November, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you on the eve of our Parliamentary session which begins tomorrow and is likely to be a very heavy one

2 I have recently paid a three-day visit to the Punjab I went to Chandigarh, the new capital, to Bhakra-Nangal, Ludhiana, Phillaur and Jullundur This visit heartened me, both from the point of view of the great public works we are undertaking at Chandigarh and Bhakra-Nangal, and the popular response to my visit There were vast and enthusiastic gatherings everywhere I went It is true that one should not be deluded by these big gatherings into thinking that all is well Nevertheless, there is much in them and they create a feeling, among the people who come there, of strength and solidarity Some of our controversies, within the Congress or outside, are given a great deal of publicity in the press and create an impression of increasing disruption It is, therefore, good to see for oneself that there are strong unifying forces at work also and the disruptive forces, though undoubtedly present, are often exaggerated The impression I get of East Punjab is that it is a stout, energetic and progressive State, which is going ahead at a fair pace

3 Much has been said in the press about some Sikh controversies There is the talk, from time to time, of a Punjabi-speaking province In this case, as in the case of other demands for a linguistic province, any kind of agitation at this stage seems to me completely inappropriate, since we are appointing a commission to go into the larger question all over India In the Punjab, of course, there are special considerations because it borders on Pakistan

4. There has also been reference in the press to Master Tara Singh's demand for certain Sikh backward groups to be included in the list of scheduled classes.¹ This demand has absolutely no substance in logic or fact. Quite apart from the decisions arrived at, with the approval of the Sikh leaders, when the Constitution was framed, the question is such a trivial one that it is surprising that it should be raised in this way. The East Punjab Government announced some time ago that all special privileges given to the scheduled castes (except the standing for election from a reserved seat) will be extended to the other backward classes including such Sikhs as might be affected by this. Thus the only question that remains is whether a few persons from these particular Sikh backward classes (they are not many) can stand for election from the reserved seats. Voting, of course, is, in any event, by all from a joint electorate. General elections in the Punjab will not take place for another three years. The question thus does not arise at present and anyhow Master Tara Singh's demand would affect only a handful of persons. I imagine that Master Tara Singh will not carry out his threat of a hunger-strike.² In any event, we are not going to submit to it. It has been the misfortune of the Sikhs to have as one of their prominent leaders, Master Tara Singh, whose outlook is excessively narrow and limited. His record of the past dozen years or more has shown a remarkable consistency in doing the wrong thing which has done harm to the Sikhs. Before the partition, he flirted with the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League by turns with the result that no one trusted him.

5. It might interest you to know that the other Sikh leader, Sampuran Singh Raman,³ who started a hunger-strike for a

1. See *ante*, p. 422

2. Scheduled for 1 November, it was postponed to 14 November and again put off.

3. (1895-1970) Led Akali Dal in Bhatinda and Patiala State Akali Jatha in 1942, formed a new party, Malva Riasti Akali Dal, 1953.

Punjabi province and was arrested,⁴ has quietly broken his fast in prison.

6. Chandigarh is gradually taking shape. It is fascinating to see this new city rising up. Thus far, not many buildings have been put up and the place does not resemble a city but has rather a number of isolated buildings. But even these buildings are cunningly devised and branch off, in many ways, from the static conceptions of architecture to which we have been accustomed. I have no doubt that Chandigarh is going to influence our buildings all over India in future.

7. Bhakra-Nangal is a tremendous affair. The very size of it is impressive and to dare to take up such huge undertakings is by itself in favour of our country. It shows confidence in oneself and in our future.

8. At Phillaur, there was a joint police tattoo⁵ in which the East Punjab Police and the West Punjab Police participated. Last year the West Punjab Police had invited the East Punjab Police to Lahore. This was a return invitation. The tattoo was extraordinarily well done and the standards exhibited were high. I was particularly struck by the high standards of the East Punjab Police. But what was far more interesting to me was the fraternization between these two police forces, which were one six years ago and then separated. They were evidently happy to meet each other and to talk about old times and common friends. Nearly 500 of the West Punjab Police had come over, from their senior officers downwards. Oddly enough, both the police forces had exactly the same kind of uniform and even the same inscription on their shoulder lapels-PP. This was deliberate and both provinces had decided not to change them but to keep this as a symbol of their own old unity. There were two Ministers of West Punjab also present⁶ apart from other

4. He started his fast on 1 November but was arrested for defying the ban on his entry into Delhi

5. On 8 November 1953.

6. Muzaffar Ali Qizibash and Abdul Hamid Dasti

senior officers Altogether, it was a pleasant and heartening function, and, as I witnessed it, I thought again of the fundamental commonness of our people with the people of Pakistan, in spite of our political differences and controversies at the top.

9. You must have heard of the tragedy that occurred in the North East Frontier Agency, not far from our Tibetan border, where a small military party of ours was ambushed by the local tribal people and a number of persons were killed.⁷ This place is far in the interior and not easy of access. It has been and is still unadministered territory. We are gradually spreading out our administration there. We have already got a check post at the Tibetan border. The people in this area are a branch of the Daffla tribe and are rather primitive. They had a quarrel with a neighbouring tribe. And it was more as a result of this quarrel that they attacked our little force which had porters from the neighbouring tribes. I think that our officer-in charge of the platoon was somewhat careless and did not take enough precautions. His little group was suddenly overwhelmed and stabbed. He himself was killed and a large number of the local porters were also killed. Probably the number of deaths was about thirty. Some people were taken as hostages.

10 It was essential to take effective action. But the place is so inaccessible that it would normally take months for a small force to reach there. We decided, therefore, to send para-troopers, who landed by parachutes and prepared an airstrip. Even this airstrip was several days march from the scene of occurrence. All this involved considerable delay and we were anxious to take action as soon as possible to prevent the neighbouring tribes being frightened or overawed by the hostile group which had attacked our men. Also there was the question of our rescuing the hostages.

11 The question of bombing from the air was considered. It was easy enough to do so and destroy the villages of these

⁷ See *ante*, pp 420-421

hostile tribes. Our instinct was, however, quite naturally against this type of indiscriminate bombing. After much thought we gave up this idea of bombing from the air and are concentrating now on the land forces. Some small aircraft will accompany the land forces to give them such support as may be deemed necessary. Several columns are marching from various points in order to encircle that area in so far as this is possible. Our strict orders are to inflict as little damage as possible, but, at the same time, to be firm in punishing the guilty. It will probably be another week or so before these troops reached the affected area.

12. At Panmunjom there appears to be a complete deadlock. The Northern Command insists on certain groups of prisoners to be brought up for explanation and to have as much time as they like to explain to them. The prisoners of war refuse to come except in the order they themselves indicate and also resent prolonged explanations. As the Commission has decided not to use force to drag these people out, no progress can be made and there have been no explanations since November 5. I understand that the Repatriation Commission is now drawing up the appraisal of the situation and communicating it to both the Commands. They intend to point out that unless the two Commands come to some other agreement on the subject, nothing more is likely to be done.

13. There is undoubtedly some truth in what the Northern Command says that these prisoners of war have been indoctrinated for three years by the other side, and they have been organized in such a way in the P.O.W. camps that it is difficult for them to express themselves freely. Hence the necessity for separating the so-called agents of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee from among them and giving full time for explanations. On the other hand, it does appear that these explanations do not produce too much effect. Those prisoners of war who wish to be repatriated say so immediately. Others behave after a set pattern, which has obviously been previously rehearsed.

14 Meanwhile, a new development is taking place. There have been charges of murders in the P O W. camps.⁸ These have been investigated and in one case at least, the investigation has established that there was definitely a murder and a conspiracy. A court martial is likely to be held early in December.⁹ This case will probably attract a good deal of world attention because the two Commands will be affected by it and, to some extent, their prestige might be involved, more especially that of the U.N. Command.

15. In the other talks at Panmunjom, preparatory to the political conference, some slight progress appears to have been made. It is difficult to say if this means much. But I think that, on the whole, the chances are that the political conference will be held. Both parties, or rather both the world groups, have definitely hardened recently and yet neither wants to be made responsible for a final break.

16. Panmunjom is a true mirror of international affairs today. How reasonably intelligent people and great countries can quarrel indefinitely over trivial questions is amazing. But behind those trivial questions lie fear and hatred and a continuing attempt to overreach the other party. Neither has the slightest faith in the other. Only a fear of actual big-scale war keeps them from flying at each other's throats. As I have written to you previously, I have little doubt that since Stalin's death, Russia had softened both in her internal and external policy. So has China. Because of this, there appeared a chance of some settlement between the two groups. In fact, this led to the agreement on the P.O.W. issue in Korea. The U.K. Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, seized the occasion to make an appeal for a top-level conference of the four or five Powers. But the U.S.A.

⁸ There were reports of two deaths by starvation and murder of three Koreans and two Chinese by fellow prisoners allegedly at the instigation of the other side.

⁹ Scheduled for 10 December 1953

disapproved of this and the proposal faded out.¹⁰ The U.S.A. evidently thought that the changes in Russian policy were due to internal weakness and this was just the time to show strength against the U.S.S.R. This analysis might have been partly correct. Certainly the Soviet Union had a bad time in East Germany and partly in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Their policy there failed and they had to change it. I rather doubt if there was any other type of internal weakness in the Soviet Union. Anyhow, even if there was some weakness, it was not enough to compel them to submit to any terms. The U.S. hardening resulted in the Soviet Union also hardening its attitude. There appears now to be no chance of any high-level meeting between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers in the near future and the Western Powers are meeting by themselves to consider the future of Germany.¹¹

17 While these developments in Korea or in Europe are of vital importance to all of us, because on their issue depends peace or war, something has happened or is happening, which is of particular interest and importance to us. The recent decisions of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of naming the country the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" and also otherwise giving a religious turn to their Constitution are significant and are bound to have undesirable consequences both in Pakistan and India. When Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan¹² had talks with me in 1950, I discussed this matter with him and he assured me that there would be no differentiation among the citizens of Pakistan. In fact, some reference to this was made in our joint communiqué.¹³ I

10. On 14 May, Eisenhower made the U.S. participation in the proposed high-level discussions conditional on some evidence of good faith.

11. It was announced in London on 8 November, that President Eisenhower, J. Laniel, the French Prime Minister and Winston Churchill would meet at Bermuda from 4 to 8 December.

12. For b in see Vol. 1, p. 29.

13. See Vol. 2, p. 63.

have no doubt whatever that the present decisions of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly do differentiate and create two classes of citizens, the Muslims and the non-Muslims, the latter having some kind of an inferior status and less opportunities. It might be explained that this will only apply to a few persons. But this is not so in fact because the whole atmosphere will be such as to deny opportunity to the non-Muslims and make them feel frustrated. I am not much concerned as to whether there has been a breach of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of 1950. But I am certainly concerned about the consequences of this decision of Pakistan, in India especially. This will make our task more difficult and will create unfavourable reactions and encourage communal elements

18. I do not like the emergence again of these communal elements in India. I have had many instances of the Hindu communal organizations becoming more aggressive and indulging not only in indecency and vulgarity but also in violence. We cannot be indifferent to this kind of thing. Perhaps you do not know that there has been a continuing stream of Muslims going to Pakistan via Rajasthan and Sind. This is not a legal movement in the sense of passports, etc. Nevertheless, some hundreds go daily and have been going, in varying numbers, for the last three and a half years. The fact that they go there itself indicates that the conditions they live in are not agreeable to them and the future they envisage for themselves in India is dark. There are of course a number of causes for this. I have already mentioned to you one major reason—the gradual closing of Services, appointments, etc., to them. This restriction is not legal, but in practice it has the same effect, whether it is in the Army or the civil services. Their trade also suffers and possibly there is also the language difficulty. They are learning Hindi, but the standard of Hindi they learn is naturally rather low at present and so they cannot pass the test as easily as others. But, above all, there is a certain atmosphere of slight hostility which unnerves them and comes in their way.

19. On the Muslim side, there has been a very undesirable development recently. It was on a small scale, but it was vicious. There was a convention recently of some Muslims in Aligarh,¹⁴ presided over by a well-known and rather undesirable person¹⁵ from Calcutta. Very objectionable speeches were delivered there and an attempt was made to start a new organization more or less on the lines of the old Muslim League.¹⁶ We have to watch these developments carefully and not permit them to grow. But, ultimately it is up to us to create an atmosphere in which our minorities can live with the assurance of full and equal treatment. If we do not succeed in doing this, we fail.

20. In the Jammu and Kashmir state, the Praja Parishad which gave so much trouble earlier in the year, is again raising its head and voicing threats.¹⁷ Any person with a minimum of intelligence can see that any such action by the Praja Parishad will do great injury to the cause of India in the state. Kashmir is passing through a very difficult and critical stage of its existence and no one can be certain of its future, although we certainly hope for the best and work for it. At this moment, for these narrow-minded people of the Praja Parishad to create further difficulties is little short of treason, though it may not be legally such.

21. I come now to another subject of extreme importance to us, that is, the impending military pact between Pakistan

14. The All India Muslim Convention met from 30 October to 1 November 1951.

15. Syed Suhrawardy, 1907-1974.

16. Suhrawardy accused the Congress of discriminating against the Muslims in such matters as appointments to Services. He asked Muslims to find solutions to their problems by acting on their own, as non-Muslims could not understand their problems and find solutions to them.

17. On 2 November, Prem Nath Dogra, President of the Praja Parishad, said that his party had not withdrawn its agitation unconditionally and warned that "if the promises made to us are not fulfilled, we will have to launch a fresh struggle."

and the U.S. A¹⁸ We cannot come in the way of such a pact between independent countries. But we are affected by it very greatly and, therefore, we cannot ignore it. For the last many months there have been vague talks and references in the newspapers about M.E.D.O. and the like. The present development does not relate to M.E.D.O. but is something perhaps worse. Apparently, the ground has been prepared for it during the last few months in various ways and now we might be on the verge of seeing its finalization. American newspapers and journals have been full of it. They talk, with evident satisfaction, of building up a vast and well-equipped army in Pakistan. The *New York Times* suggested a figure of one million men. An important weekly journal, *The U.S. News and World Report* says that "Pakistan looks like the answer to a prayer" because it will supply this vast army to fight communism in the Middle East. The Americans cannot think of anything else but of getting bases all over the world and using their money power to get manpower elsewhere to fight for them. As it is, it would be interesting to jot down on the map of the world all the places where there are American bases at present, in Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia apart from the Americas. The military approach is dominant in U.S. politics and there is an almost total unawareness that human beings count and might even make a difference. The major problems of Europe and the Far East ultimately turn now on the rearmament of Germany and Japan, both supposed to provide manpower for this great fight against communism. Meanwhile, masses of people in various parts of the world, notably Asia and Africa, who are far more interested in their own freedom than in communism or anti-communism, resent these developments.

22 In any event, a military pact between Pakistan and the U.S. changes the whole balance in this part of the world and affects India more especially. The U.S. must realize that the

18 The *New York Times*, in its editorial of 5 November, spoke of the possibility of a military alliance between Pakistan and the United States

reaction in India will be that this arming of Pakistan is largely against India or might be used against India, whether the U S wants that or not. Possibly they think, as indeed some of their newspapers say, that India might be frightened in this way and made to line up with them in her wider policies. In effect, they imagine that such an alliance between Pakistan and the U S would bring such overwhelming pressure upon India as to compel her to change her policy of non-alignment. That is rather a naive view because the effect on India of this will be the opposite, that is one of greater resentment against the U.S We are not accustomed to act under threats or compulsion or coercion

23. Although this development is undoubtedly serious, there is no need for us to get excited about it and nothing is going to happen suddenly. All this takes time and much will no doubt happen before the full consummation of the U S pact with Pakistan. Even in Pakistan itself, there will be considerable resentment and opposition, although it may not be strong enough to bring enough pressure on the Pakistan Government. It is clear that if a number of bases are given by Pakistan to the U S , Pakistan becomes in a sense an American colony and certainly a satellite country to the U S This may appear to be an addition to the military strength of the U S A , but it will also lead to their weakness in other respects It is evident that the U.S , like the U.K of old, prefer backward and reactionary regimes because they can deal with them more easily I suppose they might well be rather pleased at the prospect of Pakistan becoming an "Islamic Republic" and perhaps the leader of Western Asia The viewpoint has been well publicized that Islam is against communism and that is enough for the U S The United Kingdom failed in its policy in the Middle East because it relied on these reactionary elements The U S is hardly likely to succeed where the U K. failed

24 Something that has saddened me, more than I can say, has been the recent student trouble in the U P and, more

especially, in Lucknow and Allahabad.¹⁹ When I first heard of the Lucknow trouble, I said in Patna²⁰ that I would sooner have our universities closed down than to continue in this way. I meant it then and I still mean it, though of course that is no solution of the problem and is only a negative approach. Since then, I have refrained from saying anything about this matter and I just do not know what to say. There is no point in using empty words unless there is an effective policy to back them. But I feel very sad and concerned. What has happened in Lucknow brings no credit to any of the parties concerned. The students, I think, have behaved disgracefully, but the university authorities have little credit left and I doubt if the students have the slightest respect for them. Police action may have to be undertaken from time to time, but that is no solution. The fact is that our universities are going down at a fairly rapid pace. The Vice-Chancellors, or some of them, are not upto the mark, nor are some of the other Professors. They can neither control nor inspire respect. They try to show strength occasionally and usually at the wrong time and then meekly submit. As for the students, some of them at least have been behaving like gangsters. Only yesterday there was a story of their stopping a railway train and generally indulging in violence and destruction somewhere near Allahabad. Many of them make a practice of travelling by train in groups without tickets. We talk of discipline but we are facing something even worse than indiscipline—it is indecency and a complete disregard of any code or standard. The surprising and depressing fact is that political leaders and others come out suddenly and become champions of these students whenever such a crisis occurs and blame the Government or the police. I do not

19. The students of Allahabad University were on strike on 2 November in sympathy with the students on hunger-strike in Lucknow.

20. On 1 November, Nehru suggested that the system of basic education, favoured by Mahatma Gandhi, be introduced in place of the existing system of university education.

mind their blaming the Government or the police. But I do think it extraordinary that they have no word to say in criticism of the attitude and actions of those students who had been behaving in a way which would put many hooligans to shame.

25. In this connection, the fact that some of our State Ministers hold executive offices in universities has come to my notice.²¹ Two Ministers at least are treasurers in universities. I think this is completely wrong. Ministers must not have any executive office in a university and should, as far as possible, not be intimately concerned with its inner working.

26. As I have said above, I have really nothing to suggest because I do not want to say things in the air. But it is about time that our leading educationists as well as others who are responsible should give the most earnest thought to this matter and not merely talk, as all of us, including me, have been doing, giving advice to all and sundry. However upset I might get with the students' behaviour, I cannot treat them as some alien body hostile to us. They are our own sons and brothers and relatives. I can only treat them as I would treat my own son if he behaved in that way. I do not think I would tolerate any serious misbehaviour in him but, at the same time, while being perfectly firm, I would be friendly and not make him think that I had become hostile. I would never submit to any course of action in this matter which I considered wholly wrong. It is quite absurd for all this trouble to arise over a trivial affair like the composition of the university union. Personally I am quite convinced that a compulsory membership of the union is wrong. The trouble is obviously more deep-seated.

27. I would not like to end this letter on a note of depression. Yesterday, Delhi, and possibly some other places

²¹ For example, C B Gupta was the treasurer of Lucknow University as well as Minister in the U P. Government.

15 November, 1953

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also, observed Children's Day. There was a vast gathering of children, about fifty thousand of them, in the National Stadium. I had never seen the place so full. Probably half of the children present were under ten years of age. It was a joy to see them, evidently enjoying themselves in the various items of the programme they had put up. In the afternoon there was a children's *mela*, and the whole city of Delhi was full of marching groups of little children, brightening the atmosphere and making grown up people forget for a while their troubles and conflicts. It was the India of tomorrow and the day after, on the march, and the picture of this future was heartening.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 November, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you know, I have been rather shaken up by recent student troubles, chiefly in Uttar Pradesh. They are a bad omen for our future. We criticize or condemn some students, and there is little doubt that some of these students have misbehaved badly.

2. In Lucknow and, to some extent elsewhere, in the U P., there appears to have been a well-planned and organized attempt to damage Government property. Private property was not touched. It is obvious that this could not have been done without careful planning previously. I do not know who did this, whether it was a small group of students or outsiders. This is a matter deserving full enquiry, because it is likely to be repeated whenever any trouble, student or other, takes place. We have been warned.

3. This whole trouble seems to be so out of proportion to the issues that I have a feeling of grappling with something that I do not wholly understand. This leads me to think that we are up against something rather different from and bigger than a mere student demand. But, however that may be, the fact remains that large numbers of students are dragged into the picture and either actively or passively support misbehaviour. Very probably the active miscreants are not many and they might not even be students. In our large universities, it is quite easy for a small number of outsiders to mix with the students and not to be found out.

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

4 Not only do the great majority of students sympathize with this violence and so-called direct action but, oddly enough, even their parents do so, or many of them. Respected citizens get so unnerved at what happens that they lose all sense of proportion and indirectly support these trouble-making elements.

5 There is something wrong about all this and we have to find out why this happens and how we can avoid this happening.

6 Police measures and the like are essential at a certain stage, as otherwise the whole community would suffer and the life of the city would break down completely. But police measures are obviously not enough and, in fact, unless very carefully regulated, they tend to add to the trouble. They make the peaceful onlookers sympathize with the trouble-makers and thus the situation is worsened.

7. This question has, therefore, to be approached in a variety of ways including the psychological approach, both to students and the general public. Generally speaking, the State should not interfere in a student dispute. It should be an impartial arbiter which comes into the picture only when absolutely necessary. The main responsibility must lie on the university authorities and, principally, the Vice-Chancellor and his executive committee. The position of the Vice-Chancellor is a crucial one. If he cannot control the students or inspire respect in them, then it will be difficult to maintain discipline or a feeling among the students that some things must not be done.

8. Next come the professors and teachers. If they do not set a good example, then how can we expect the students to do it? Unfortunately some of our professors and teachers have themselves been found to encourage and even instigate these student troubles.

9. The Chancellor's position is a special one. He is usually the Governor of the State. He is thus connected with the State Government as well as the university. He ought to be he impartial friend, philosopher and guide in whom not

only the authorities but also the students have faith. Normally it would be better for him not to interfere, unless the position absolutely requires it. Of course, he can always give private advice. If he has to interfere, this should be from a higher level so that his words and his advice carry weight. No member of the Government should be actively associated with the executive functioning of the university. Such association might well produce embarrassing situations, as the Government, or rather the Education Ministry of the Government, has to deal with the university in a variety of ways. If a Minister is actively associated, then there is danger of his being considered as belonging to some particular group in the university and this will affect the whole Government. A Minister should be much above this kind of thing so that he can exercise his influence more effectively.

10. I believe that in some universities, or perhaps all, some nominations are made to the syndicate or the executive council of the university. Normally these nominations should be on the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor to the Chancellor, who may of course consult the Education Ministry. If the Education Ministry is directly concerned with this, again there will be a tendency for that Ministry to become associated with some group in the university.

11. It seems desirable that early steps should be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the University Commission, in some matters at least. As the Vice-Chancellor is the pivot of the university, his appointment must not be a matter of private canvassing and dispute in the university itself. The greatest care should be taken in the appointment of educationists, and not pure politicians, to this post.

12. If we are to maintain any kind of academic atmosphere or discipline in a university, we must keep out what are called party politics from it. I do not mean to say that students should not have definite views, even on party lines if they so choose, or may not express them fully in their debates, etc. But it appears to me totally wrong for the university to become the playground of or the scene of

conflict between political parties. Not only students but professors and teachers must keep these party politics out of the university. As individuals and in some other field of activity, they have freedom to take part in politics. But students as such should not be exploited to this end.

13 It would be desirable for leaders of parties to make this clear and call upon their own party not to bring in their party disputes into the university or attempt to control the university or the students' union for that purpose. Probably some leading parties in India might well agree to this. But there are some at least which will not, like the Communists. Indeed, I would not approach them in this matter because their whole basic policy is different and, even if they agree, it is difficult to rely on their word. The communal parties again are totally unreliable and need not be approached from this point of view.

14 After all, we have to understand ourselves and make others understand, including the students, what the function of a university is. It is meant to train people in body and mind, as well as spirit, for such future service or function that they might have to perform. If conditions are created in a university which militate against this, then it fails of its primary purpose. Students should realize that far from fitting themselves for this function, they are making themselves totally unfit for it, if they indulge in these deplorable activities. Such value as is attached to a degree, etc., has already largely gone. It is not likely to count for Government service or other such services. Indeed it would be better to separate the Government service from these examinations and degrees.

15 We have often criticized the kind of education that we are having in India. This is an important matter of course, but the problem before us now is somewhat different and more urgent one, and that is, the atmosphere in which any education can be given. Unless this is tackled, the best scheme of education will fail.

16 There has been an argument about student unions. I do

not wish to go into this. But it should be clearly understood that this business of forming action committees, indulging in direct action, hunger-strikes, etc, is wholly unbecoming and harmful to all concerned. Indeed hunger-striking for political or like objectives (I would say for any objective) is a menace and it must be put an end to.

17. A university is essentially a place of co-operative endeavour. If this is lacking, then there is little left of the university. It must, therefore, be our earnest attempt to produce this atmosphere, not only by such laws and rules as we can make, but even so by the spirit in which we approach all the problems of our education.

18. These are some ideas I am venturing to send you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 November, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,*

In the course of my fortnightly letters, I have drawn your special attention to the question of minority communities in the Services. This matter has been causing me grave concern because from such partial data as reaches me, I get the impression that, for all practical purposes, the doors of recruitment of minorities for our all-India or State Services, are largely closed. They are of course not closed by any rule or order of Government. But in effect that appears to be the case, whether it is the Army, the Administrative Services, the Police, or the many lower Services right down to the villages and such persons as Inspectors and the like.

I am sure that neither you nor your Government wants this to happen, but certain circumstances have led to this unfortunate development. I think that this is not in keeping with the letter or spirit of our Constitution, and certainly it is bad from any practical point of view. It creates a sensation of frustration and lack of hope for the future in large numbers of people. This has far-reaching political and social consequences. I am, therefore, anxious that this question should be tackled firmly as soon as possible.

I have no desire to add to your burdens. I think, however, that it would be desirable to collect some data. I am not suggesting that you should put up any special organization for the purpose or take too much trouble over this matter. It

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

might be possible, without much difficulty, to collect certain broad data which will give us the picture of the last six years since Independence. We cannot tackle the problem unless we know what the problem is. The next step would be to understand the causes and to remove them.

It might be possible of course for me to ask our Statistical Department to collect this information. But that might mean too elaborate a procedure and I do not wish any fuss to be made about this at this stage at any rate.

May I, therefore, invite your attention and your co-operation in this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
1 December, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you in my last letter about the proposal for a military pact between the U.S.A and Pakistan. Since then, many statements have been made in America and in Pakistan about this pact.¹ Persons of high degree have spoken and one would believe them but for the fact that they do not speak in the same voice. There are two principal reactions in Pakistan and, to some extent, in America. One is of surprise and resentment that I should have said something about this matter without enquiry;² the other is that I should have the temerity to interfere in the affairs of another independent country.³

2 While there have been many denials, contradictions and angry comments about the statement that I made in a press

1 Between 17 and 19 November, President Eisenhower, Dulles, the Secretary of State, and Ghulam Mohammad, the Governor-General of Pakistan, denied that any negotiations were under way for a military pact between Pakistan and U S A., though Dulles did not rule out the possibility of such a pact in the future

2 On 19 November, Ghulam Mohammad expressed "extreme surprise" that Nehru had "commented on these reports without first thinking it necessary to verify their veracity "

3 In its editorial of 18 November, *Dawn* commented that "Pandit Nehru's attempt to interfere in our affairs can have no effect on our foreign policy except perhaps of doing incalculable harm to the good neighbourly relations" which should exist between the two countries.

conference in regard to this proposal for a military pact,⁴ I do not remember a single denial or indeed any comment even on the many news items and comments on this subject which had appeared in the American press before ever I spoke. Indeed, I made my statement after I had read detailed accounts of this proposed pact in responsible American newspapers and periodicals. As a matter of fact, there has been vague talk of Pakistan associating itself in military alliances with some Western Powers for a long time past. There was M.E.D.O., then there were other permutations and combinations. Lastly, there came this news of a bilateral pact between the U.S. and Pakistan. At an early stage, when M.E.D.O. was talked about, we had something to say about it.⁵ But since then, I have refrained from referring to this matter in public. When, however, responsible persons and newspapers in America referred to this in detail as to something already done, or on the point of being done, I could remain silent no longer, for, as I said, it was a matter of the gravest concern to us. It was fortunate that I said so then because this attracted the world's attention and people realized that India was also concerned in this matter and would react strongly to it. The result of this apparently has been to put a check to further progress. There can be no doubt that talks about a military pact have been taking place between Pakistan and the U.S. for many months. They nearly came to a head. Now I presume that they have been postponed for a more favourable moment.

3. I need not point out to you the consequences of such a pact on India. They are obvious. The tension between India and Pakistan would grow and all the attempts at greater

4. Nehru had stated at a press conference on 15 November that a military pact between Pakistan and the U.S. would have "very far-reaching consequences on the whole structure of things in South Asia and especially in India and Pakistan". He also expressed concern over the talks about bases to be established in Pakistan.

5. See *ante*, p. 236.

friendliness between these two countries would be sabotaged. Some people think that this new danger would make us think again about our foreign policy, and the pressure and fear of coming events might induce us to give up our attitude of non-alignment to power groups. This is a complete misreading of the situation. The policy that we have been pursuing has not been based on temporary advantage or fear but has grown out of our national way of thinking with its roots in the long past. It is the inevitable result of the state of affairs in Asia and in the world. That policy we are going to adhere to, even though our frontiers may have to face a new threat. It would be unfortunate that Pakistan should gradually lose her independence and become a satellite and almost a colony. That would be a reversal of the great process of the liberation of Asia which is one of the striking developments of the modern age.

4 It is not realized in many foreign countries that whatever troubles we may have to face, fear is not one of them. Great nations with vast power at their command are afraid of each other. Perhaps it is because we have no such great power that we are not afraid. Our present generation has faced a great imperial power with little else than a stout will to free itself. We grew unaccustomed to this psychology of fear under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and we have not entirely forgotten that lesson yet.

5 We have seen the gradual withdrawal of the British power from Asia. Other countries have also been compelled by circumstances to give way. There is still, however, colonial domination in Indo-China and Malaya. The British have sought to build up a new colonial empire in Africa. A new pattern is being set there, the pattern of white dominions. We see this process in East Africa and in Central Africa. There is no essential difference between the policy pursued in the Union of South Africa and the successive steps that have been taken in some other parts of Africa. The language is somewhat different and more moderate. But the aim is almost identical, that is, the establishment of some kind of Dominion Governments with permanent rule of a

small white minority. This is not so inconceivable as people might think, for any State today has great power and can coerce to its will large masses of people. We live at the threshold of the atomic age and the jet aeroplane, but our thinking continues to be of a past age. If large parts of Africa develop in this way, the small white minorities might well be capable of suppressing the indigenous people and making them function according to their will. That will be bad for Africa but it will also be bad for India. It will mean a constant challenge to us and to our growth. Only the waters of the Indian Ocean will separate us from Africa and in these days of the jet aircraft, this is no barrier.

6 There has been a very definite hardening of the British Government in its colonial territories. In Kenya, the horror continues and no one quite knows how many tens of thousands of persons have been slaughtered there by land or from the air. Our consciences have grown dull and we do not react to these vast killings now as we would have reacted to something infinitely smaller previously. One might almost think that a deliberate attempt is being made to exterminate a considerable section of the population. In British Guiana, whatever mistakes might have been made by Dr Jagan's⁶ Government, the action that the British Government took was out of all proportion.⁷ It symbolized the new colonial policy.

7. While the British colonial power is trying to consolidate itself in Africa, it has practically been driven out from Western Asia. Thus, of course, has been largely due to the growth of nationalist movements there. But it is an interesting fact that the U.S.A. are trying to take Britain's place in that region. In spite of the grand alliance of the U.S.,

6 Cheddi Jagan (b 1918) Leader of the Peoples Progressive Party in Guyana formed in 1950, Prime Minister, April-October 1953, Minister of Trade and Industry, 1957-61 and of Development and Planning, 1961-64, Leader of the Opposition, 1964-73 and 1976

7 See *ante*, p 236

U K , France and other countries, there are many points of conflict between the parties and among them is this attempt of the U S to push out and replace the U.K in Western Asia. The U S are firmly established in Turkey.⁸ They are now advancing, politically, financially and otherwise, on other Islamic countries. They are entrenched in Saudi Arabia,⁹ so also in Tripoli,¹⁰ where there are large American bases. In Iran, they are trying to gain a firm foothold. If Pakistan also comes into this American orbit and allows military bases to be established, American military and financial power will hold almost this entire belt of Islamic countries. That will be a curious development in the process of the liberation of Asia. This was pointed out to the Egyptian leaders who realized that by this expansion of American power, the greater part of the Islamic world was being encircled and brought under the military and financial control of America. Thus to the north and west of Egypt, American power was extending. To the south in Africa, British colonial power was entrenched itself in a new way. Most of these countries, and certainly Egypt, are alarmed by these developments and dislike greatly any military pact between America and Pakistan, because such a pact would put the lid on all this. But all these countries are weak and helpless. On India falls the burden of stopping this rot. This is not merely an ideological position but one which is full of dangerous implications in the future. I believe India can do it, not by force of arms, of course, but by refusing to submit to these

8 On becoming a member of N A T O on 18 February 1952, Turkey was assured of military and economic aid by the United States.

9 Saudi Arabia, which was already receiving aid from the United States, entered into discussions with the U S on 18 and 19 May 1953 for the development of her oilfields.

10 Libya gained independence on 24 December 1951 and signed a twenty-year treaty with Great Britain in July 1953 by which she received massive economic aid in return for providing military bases to Britain. It was reported that Libya and the United States had commenced negotiations for an American air base at Tripoli in exchange for economic aid.

pressures and by making it clear to the world that she will continue to follow her policy India's strength, apart from such internal resources that we might have, comes from the fact that she represents in this matter the wishes of vast numbers of people in other Asian countries, who dare not give expression to them. But if a clear lead is given, others follow. Even in the present instance we see this happening. We shall have to keep up this pressure from our side.

8. The Government of India has taken steps to draw the attention of all countries with which we have diplomatic relations to these undesirable and dangerous developments and has made it clear to them what our own policy is going to be. Generally speaking, the Asian countries have welcomed India's stand.¹¹ But, even in other countries, there has been some appreciation of it. In this particular matter, the U K also does not approve of these expansionist tendencies of the U S A.

9. I have referred to American expansionism which has resulted today in American bases being spread out all over the world in every continent and in every sea. I believe that there are nearly forty such bases in various parts of the world. On the other hand, there is the expansionism of the Soviet Union and the newly integrated and powerful State of China. We have to guard ourselves against that also. There is no present fear from either of them to India. But we have to prepare for the future. We cannot do so by starting an armament race with any countries of either bloc. We cannot afford that and it is the wrong way. We can only rely ultimately on various factors, the chief amongst which is internal cohesion and strength of will and mind. Another factor is the balance of forces in the world. As you know, we

¹¹ The *Anis* from Kabul, the *New Times* of Burma, and the *Djakarta* daily, the *Mimbar Indonesia*, of 18, 19 and 21 November 1953 respectively, criticised the proposed military alliance between the U S A and Pakistan as likely to give rise to new tensions in Asia. The *al Itihad* of Baghdad commented that the military alliance would undoubtedly affect the peace and security of India.

have a frontier with China now extending to 1900 miles. It is the most difficult frontier region of the world, with the Himalayan mountains, skirted from one side by vast forests and very difficult country and, on the other, by the inhospitable land of Tibet. It is not an easy frontier for anyone to cross. At the same time, frontiers do not count in the atomic age. Our best policy with every country is one of friendship and firmness in defence of our rights. We are soon going to have talks with the Chinese Government about certain problems in Tibet.¹² Those problems relate chiefly to trade, pilgrimage and certain old-time privileges that we have there. None of these are of any great consequence once we recognize the sovereignty of China in Tibet. What is of essential consequence is our frontier and by that we will stand. Indeed, we do not propose to discuss this matter. In our talks with the Government of China, we hope to be friendly and at the same time firm.

10 In the Middle East, one of the great attractions, of course, is oil, and it is the desire to control these oil-fields that drives America on and on.

11. It is in this context of world conflicts and expansionism that we have to consider our own internal problems. For us, as for any other country, the question is one of survival. That survival depends certainly on our economic progress, but even more so on our capacity for political and psychological cohesion. And yet disruptive forces function everywhere and there is little realization of the changes that are being brought about in the world by the coming of new and powerful weapons. Whatever the weapons may be, ultimately the human being counts. We have to build up those human beings in India and make them realize that they have to function together and to work hard. All this business of communalism, provincialism and all the other barriers that separate us seem so trivial in this

¹² Negotiations on Tibet opened in Beijing on 31 December 1953 and were concluded on 29 April 1954.

perspective The behaviour of our students appears to be crass folly and dangerous nonsense. The conflicts for power and position in various parts of India seem wholly petty and out of place Faction has been the curse of India in the past The big question for the future is how far we can rise above that faction and build up a united and wholesome country We take pride in our past and we are entitled to do so, but a very thin line separates this from smugness and self-complacency The fact is that while we have many virtues, we have tremendous failings, and the biggest failing of all is to imagine that we are superior to others

12 Sometime ago, our Planning Commission received a critical note from a very eminent American educational authority, Dr A E Morgan¹³ Dr Morgan was the Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority. He was also a member of the University Education Commission¹⁴ which was presided over by Dr S. Radhakrishnan He is one of those few men who are not only authorities in their special fields but have a wide knowledge of life and its problems His comments, therefore, were of peculiar interest They relate chiefly to education and to industry, more especially, cottage industry There are many passages in them to which I would like to draw your attention, because they are thought-provoking, but I do not propose to burden this letter with long extracts I hope to send a copy of his note to you separately within a few days. I would invite your special attention to it, because it deals with some of our most important problems

13. At long last, some compensation, or rather rehabilitation grant, has been paid to certain categories of displaced persons from West Pakistan These categories

13 (1878-1975) American civil engineer and educator; President, Antioch College in Ohio, 1920-36, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-38, member, University Education Commission, India 1948-49

14 See Vol 1, p 502

include those who are in the greatest need of help. Our Rehabilitation Ministry would have paid this long ago but for the fact that we were hoping to come to some agreement with the Pakistan Government. If such an agreement had been arrived at, the whole problem would have been viewed in a different light and we could have gone much further in the way of help to the refugees than we are in a position to do today. Most of our schemes and proposals have been held up because of this lack of agreement. I confess to feeling somewhat frustrated in this matter because most of our approaches to the Pakistan Government yield no result. From time to time they fling out a charge that we have broken some agreement. Our Rehabilitation Minister¹⁵ suggested that this whole question might be examined by some impartial judge. That was not accepted. There is something frivolous in the way the Pakistan Government has behaved in this matter. Even when joint decisions are apparently reached something happens to prevent their ratification or implementation. Obviously, there are some forces at play in Pakistan which do not want a settlement of this problem. Partly this may be due to their dislike of a settlement, as some individuals want to keep up the tension between the two countries, partly to the fact that some influential persons are in possession of valuable evacuee properties, but it is, I think, chiefly due to fear in Pakistan that, if there was a settlement, they might have to pay a very large sum of money to India. We realize, of course, that Pakistan is not in a position to pay any large sum and even an agreement to do so could not be implemented. We are prepared to face this situation and apply some reasonable standard. If, however, there is no hope of a settlement on this issue, then, necessarily we shall have to go ahead by ourselves.

14. The problem of the refugees from West Pakistan has not been wholly solved. But we have gone a long way

15. Ajit Prasad Jain

towards solving it, and probably in another twelve months or so, only the hard core of it will remain. In Bengal, however, the other problem of refugees from East Pakistan is still in a somewhat fluid condition. Progress has certainly been made and the general situation is quiet, but much remains to be done. A trickle of evacuees from East Pakistan continues to come to West Bengal. The numbers are not great. On the other hand, a fair number of Muslims cross over to Pakistan from India, via Rajasthan and Sind, daily.

15. Why do these Muslims cross over to Pakistan at the rate of three or four thousand a month? This is worth enquiring into, because it is not to our credit that this should be so. Mostly they come from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan or Delhi. It is evident that they do not go there unless there is some fear or pressure on them. Some may go in the hope of employment there. But most of them appear to feel that there is no great future for them in India. I have already drawn your attention to difficulties in the way of Government service. Another reason, I think, is the fear of the evacuee property laws. I have always considered these laws both in India and in Pakistan as most inequitable. In trying to punish a few guilty persons we punish or injure large numbers of perfectly innocent people. We must not judge merely by the cases that come up before us or those against whom proceedings are taken. The pressure of the evacuee property laws applies to almost all Muslims in certain areas of India. They cannot easily dispose of their property or carry on trade for fear that the long arm of this law might not hold them in its grip. It is this continuing fear that comes in the way of normal functioning and normal business and exercises a powerful pressure on large numbers of Muslims in India, especially in the North and West. Cases have been reported to me where undoubted injustice has been done. But I was told that the law was the law and nothing could remedy that injustice. Other cases have come to me where the officers in charge have been reported to have behaved with extreme discourtesy. That is bad and it gives a bad name to our country and our Government. I hope that in your State

you will take particular care that this does not happen and, indeed, that, if these laws are to continue, they should function as leniently and rarely as possible.

16 Should these laws continue? A normal answer would be that this is a reciprocal matter and we are perfectly prepared to do away with them if only Pakistan did likewise. This is not a satisfactory answer, because that means that the initiative lies with Pakistan and not with us. Pakistan's whole approach and policy are different from ours. What they do may fit in with that policy, but the same thing may injure our policy. I think the time has come for us to face this issue and put an end to the future working of these evacuee property laws in India. After all, there are plenty of foreigners in India from Europe, America and elsewhere, who have perfect freedom to dispose of their property as they like. Why should that freedom be denied to people in India even though some of them might go to Pakistan later? It cannot make much difference in financial terms, but it does make a big difference from the political and psychological points of view. We cannot rub out what has already been done under these laws. The vast properties that are held by the custodians will continue to be held by them till some other arrangement is devised. But we certainly can say that all future functioning of these laws must stop and no one will be proceeded against whether he remains here or goes to Pakistan. If we take this step, as I think we should, it would bring tremendous relief to large numbers of Muslims in India and have a very good political effect, both in India and Pakistan.

17. I have nothing fresh to report to you about the talks going on at Panmunjom, whether in relation to the P.O.W.s or the political conference. We are especially concerned with the former because we hold the prisoners. We cannot hold them indefinitely and yet the process envisaged in the Agreement of explanations has come almost to a full stop. In fact, the Agreement has broken down in an important respect. The only course that appears feasible now is for the matter to be referred to the parties to

the Agreement, that is, the U N Command and the Northern Command. Meanwhile, some bad cases of murder in the P.O.W s camp have come to light and there is likely to be a court martial at Panmunjom within the next few days

18 As for the political conference, very slow progress is being made. It does appear that both parties wish to avoid a breakdown. But the new technique which might well come to be known in future as the 'Panmunjom technique', is of interminable talks, interspersed with abuse, and no agreement. India's name is bandied about and the latest proposals from the U N side suggest that India should be one of the observers at this conference.¹⁶ As at present advised, we have no intention of accepting this kind of a secondary role. In any event, we shall not accept any invitation to join this conference unless it is a joint invitation from both the parties.

19 I have referred above to the conflict between the respective interests of the U K. and the U S A. This is likely to lead to curious results. In the Middle East, the U S A is trying hard, and largely succeeding, in replacing the U K. But, even in the Commonwealth countries, this process is continuing slowly. You know that Australia and New Zealand have entered into a pact with the United States.¹⁷ This is often referred to as A.N.Z.U.S. The U K was

16 The U S representative, on 29 November, suggested that the Soviet Union should take part not as a neutral but as a member of the Communist side, and that India, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan and Chile be invited to attend the conference as "non-voting observers". The same day, the Communist delegates rejected the U S proposals and suggested New Delhi as the venue of the conference where India, Soviet Union, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma should also be represented as "neutral nations". The presence of the neutral countries as mere observers was agreed to by the U N side on 8 December.

17 The Pacific Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States (A.N.Z.U.S.) was signed on 1 September 1951 and came into operation on 20 April 1953.

excluded from this, much to the annoyance of the U.K. Indeed, Sir Winston Churchill said last summer that he did not like the A N Z U.S. pact at all. A N Z U S meant that New Zealand and Australia, for all their ties with Britain, had been pulled into the American sphere of influence. Canada inevitably is, to some extent, within that sphere although it is strong enough and wise enough to continue to play a more or less independent role. Thus, the Commonwealth tends to disintegrate although it might keep its outer form intact. The Union of South Africa adds no strength to the Commonwealth and is a thorn in its side. Thus, in spite of the grand alliance called the N.A.T.O., these internal contradictions and conflicts continue. They are evident in the case of Germany. A number of Western European countries are anxious to have trade and other relations with the eastern Communist countries. The facts of life and the logic of geography make this necessary, as the British Chancellor of Exchequer said at the last Commonwealth Conference. But America does not approve of this and America's voice generally prevails.

20. France is in a bad way, bled to death in Indo-China, wanting to get out of it and yet not being allowed to do so. The French Premier,¹⁸ for the first time, went as far as to say recently that he was prepared to have an armistice with Ho Chi Minh. America disapproved of any such proposal.

21. If the Western European Powers, closely bound as they are to the United States, pull in different directions, what would be the fate of Asian countries tied up in this way? They have neither the prestige nor the power of these European countries. They would thus succumb completely to the dominant power whose aid they seek. This picture is being repeated on both sides, that is, the Communist side in Eastern Europe where a number of countries have become

¹⁸ Joseph Laniel (1889-1975) Deputy, National Assembly, 1946, Secretary of State for Finance, 1948, Minister for Posts 1951, Minister of State, 1952-53, Prime Minister, 1953-54

camp-followers of Soviet Russia, and in the rest of the world where also a number of countries tend to become satellites of the U.S.A. In Asia, it will have even more unfortunate results and a new, though not very obvious, domination may well develop. The recent current of history in favour of Asia's liberation will be reversed. This cannot be reversed for long and trouble will occur. The more I think of it, the clearer it seems to me that, not only for us in India but for other Asian countries also, the only correct policy is to keep far away from these alignments. The alternative is not only entanglement in war but the giving up of our freedom in peace.

22. I have made a brief reference above to the continuing horror in Kenya. This has suddenly been exposed by a recent court-martial which has brought out some facts which have shocked British opinion.¹⁹ Africans, and notably Kikuyus, have been shot down as if they were wild animals and each battalion has kept a score board of "Kills." Apart from the inhumanity of this, it passes one's comprehension how any responsible person or Government can think that this is the way to achieve peace and stability. In East Africa again, in a part of Uganda an important ruling chief, the Kabaka of Buganda,²⁰ has just been deposed²¹ and exiled by the British Colonial Office because, it is officially stated, he ventured to ask for some kind of independence even though that independence was to be within the Commonwealth.

19. Allegations were made during his trial by court-martial on 27 November by Capt. G.S.L. Griffiths of the Durham Light Infantry regarding rewarding of the killers of the Mau Mau terrorists with cash awards.

20. Mutesa II (Edward Frederick) (1924-1969) Kabaka (King) of Buganda, 1940-1953 and President of Uganda, 1963-1966.

21. The British Government withdrew recognition to the Kabaka on 30 November on the charge of being non-cooperative with the British Government on major issues and declared a state of emergency in Buganda.

23. I shall come to pleasanter topics. As you know, the food situation in India has improved greatly. We have had bumper crops, especially of rice. This is due partly to good rains and partly to the introduction of the Japanese method of rice cultivation. This method, wherever tried, has been remarkably successful. Indeed, it has been found that that method can be applied with advantage, with some variations, to wheat and other crops. This holds promise for the future. It does not mean, of course, that we should be at all complacent. We cannot expect good rains every year and, let us never forget, that the population grows from year to year and day to day and therefore the number of consumers grows. But we have come to grips with the problem and are controlling it.

24. I should like to draw your attention to certain reports we have received about the M.R.A.²²—Moral Rearmament. When a large contingent of M.R.A. people came to India, it received a welcome from many people.²³ I was a little restrained in this matter, because I knew something of the past history of this movement and how it had definitely a political angle. Reports have reached us from Africa and elsewhere of how this movement is being used for political purposes and often wrong purposes. I think we should be chary of getting tied up in any way with this movement.

25. I have just been reading some letters of Thomas Paine.²⁴ You will remember that Thomas Paine was not only a man of letters but a person who played as important part both in the great French Revolution and in the American Revolution. In a letter dated January 1783, written in America, he said -

²² The Moral Rearmament movement was started in 1938 by Frank D. N. Buchman who had earlier set up in 1921 an Oxford Group which advocated character building as a first step towards establishing an ideal society.

²³ The international convention of the movement was held in January 1953 in New Delhi.

²⁴ (1737-1809)

It would perhaps be quite as well were we to talk less about our independence, and more about our union. For, if the union is justly started, our independence is made secure. The former is the mother, the latter the infant at her breast. The nourishment of the one is drawn through the other, and to impoverish the mother is famishing her offspring.

Is there a country in the world that has so many openings to happiness as this? Masters of the land, and proprietors of the Government, unchained from the evils of foreign subjection, and respected by sovereign powers, we have only to deserve prosperity, and its attainment is sure.

But it ever was and probably ever will be the unfortunate disposition of some men to encumber business with difficulties. The natural cast of their mind is to contention; and whatever is not to their particular wish, or their immediate interest, is sure to be magnified with infinite calamities, and exhibited in terror. Such men can see the fate of empires in the snuff of a candle, and an eternity of public ruin wrapt up in every trifling disappointment to themselves. They build their hopes of popularity on error and accident, and subsist by flattering the mistakes and bewildering the judgement of others, still unable to discover the truth or unwilling to confess it, they run into new inconsistencies, or retreat in angry discontent.

These words, written soon after the thirteen States of North America became independent, have some bearing on us today.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
31 December, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you the last day of the old year, and it will be in the fitness of things if I wished you a happy New Year and a record of achievement in the year to come. And yet, as I look around at the world scene, I have no sense of exhilaration, and I cannot honestly say that the next year will lead to an easing of the tensions of the world

2. Perhaps I have been affected by a number of tragic accidents during recent days or weeks. We have had one serious tragedy in which our night mail aircraft crashed killing all the passengers on board.¹ That was a personal tragedy also because two good friends and comrades of old days, Raghunandan Saran² and Hariharnath Shastri³, were involved in it. A number of Air Force accidents have also taken place resulting in the death of some of our fine young men, notably one of the best known pilots of them all, Nam Joshi⁴ Day before yesterday, yet another tragedy hit us and took us completely unawares. The Nepalese Ambassador,

1 An Indian Airlines plane crashed near Nagpur on 12 December 1953 killing all the ten passengers and three of the four members of the crew

2 (1897-1953) Congressman and industrialist from Delhi

3 (1904-1953) Congressman from U P., President, All India Trade Union Congress, 1933-35, Indian National Trade Union Congress, 1947-49, National Federation of Indian Railwaymen, 1953, member, Lok Sabha, 1952-53

4 V Nam Joshi (1915-1953) India's test pilot at Hindustan Aircraft Factory, Bangalore.

General Bijaya Shumshere Jung,⁵ died in his bath by electric shock. He was perfectly healthy and was one of the most popular figures in our diplomatic circles here. He had a powerful electric heater in his bath and somehow this gave him this terrible shock which killed him instantaneously. His death is a loss in many ways, but more particularly to Nepal which has a lack of competent men

3. Since I wrote to you last, much has happened, but I would like to confine this letter to some of the more important events. Two of these are of outstanding importance for us—the proposal for the U.S. to give military aid to Pakistan and the developments in Korea. Only recently I spoke at considerable length in both the Houses of Parliament on these two subjects.⁶ I do not wish to repeat here what I said then and I would suggest to you to read, if you have not already done so, my first speech in the House of the People which explained the situation we have to face.

4. It is a serious situation, though it is not necessary for us to be alarmed about it, or indeed about anything external to us. But we have to be wide awake and vigilant and that is why I considered it necessary that our people should be informed of these events.

5. We are especially involved in Korea because of our Chairmanship of the Repatriation Commission and our custodial force. Also because very often the burden of decision rests upon us. The other four members of the Commission divide up equally and the Chairman has to give his vote this way or that and this is the deciding vote. On every important point there is now a difference of opinion.

5 Bijaya Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana (1915-1953) joined Nepal army, 1931, led the Nepalese delegation to the Asian Relations Conference, 1947, Ambassador to India, 1951-53.

6 On 23 December 1953, Nehru said that American military aid to Pakistan would change the whole context and background of Indo-Pakistan problems including the Kashmir issue, would reverse the process of liberation and freedom of Asia and lessen the chances of peace.

and even in regard to the factual report, which has recently been presented to the two Commands,⁷ there was no full agreement. Explanations to prisoners of war have stopped, although our own view was that it would be desirable to continue them. Of the ninety days provided for explanations, only ten or eleven were so utilized. The result is that main purpose of the Commission has not been fulfilled and a vast number of P.O.W.s have not gone through the process of explanation. Also, the political conference has not come into existence and there appears to be no great chance that it will meet. Therefore, the conditions laid down in the terms of agreement have not been fulfilled.

6. You may have read a summary of the report presented by the Commission to the two Commands. This reveals a sad state of affairs. The South Korean Government covers itself, if I may say so, with discredit. Others are also to blame.

7. Of even greater importance to us is the U.S. military aid to Pakistan. The newspapers are full of reports and surmise and rumour and it is a little difficult to disentangle truth from fiction. American newspapers go very far indeed in discussing bases in Pakistan. The Pakistan Government, however, as well as the U.S. Government, have denied any military pact or the transfer of bases.⁸ These denials may be

7. After the truce period for explanations and exercise of choice by the non-repatriated prisoners ended on 23 December, the N.N.R.C. asked the two Commands on 28 December to decide on the fate of the remaining 22,000 prisoners, since it would have no control over them after 120 days. The Polish, Czech and Indian members felt that the process of explanations had been delayed because Chinese and Korean prisoners had been organized into political groups and violent methods were used to prevent those prisoners who wished to appear for explanations. This, according to them, was a violation of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war. The Swiss and Swedish members did not agree with this.

8. Zafrullah Khan said on 10 December that there had been no more than conversations with respect to military equipment for the Pakistan army and the U.S. Ambassador to India denied on 14 December that there had been a military agreement between Pakistan and the United States.

accepted, but they mean very little. Once free military aid comes to Pakistan under some agreement, that itself is as good as a military alliance, and whether any bases are transferred or not, it is easy to do this within a day or so, when the need for them arises. The question before us is not of a few bases here and there but rather of the fact that with this military aid, Pakistan itself becomes a base. Reports reach us of large numbers of American technicians and the like going to Pakistan.

8 I feel very distressed at this, not because I am afraid of any attack on India but because this means the loss of Pakistan's freedom and that country becoming progressively a satellite of the United States. There will be no escape from this. The whole pattern in South Asia changes and our own problems have to be viewed afresh from this new point of view. It must be remembered that this major change does not depend upon the quantum of free military aid given. Even a small quantity will bring about that political change and Pakistan will become definitely lined up with the Western Powers and a region of cold war now and shooting war perhaps later. Our efforts to come to a settlement with Pakistan about various matters in dispute will have to be given up for the present because the whole context is changed. Behind Pakistan will stand a great and powerful country, the U.S.A. In fact the giving of military aid to Pakistan is an unfriendly act to India.

9. Some attempts have been made to justify this by saying that India has entered into some secret pact with China and the Soviet Union.⁹ This of course is a complete fabrication. We do not enter into secret pacts, or indeed military pacts of any kind, with any country and we do not propose to do so, whatever Pakistan and the U.S. might do. It almost seems to

9 On 29 December 1953, the *Observer* (London) quoting its foreign correspondent from Karachi wrote "that India had made a secret pact in the event of war, with China and Russia." This was denied by the Indian Government the next day.

me that one of the reasons behind the U.S. action, apart from the military reason of having more bases, was to bring pressure to bear upon India to give up her independent policy. These great countries, the U.S.A., and the U.S.S.R., have got so used to imposing their will on others that they cannot understand how any country can refuse to submit. They can only think in military terms or in financial terms. We in India are neither a military power nor a rich country. How then can we resist these pressures? That was the argument.

10 And yet any person with the least insight into the Indian mind or knowledge of our recent past history, should know well that we do not react favourably to pressure tactics. Indeed, the effect on us is the reverse of what is intended. Whatever other mistakes we might make and whatever steps we might take, we are not going to change our basic policy because of pressure from other countries. If we succumbed to this pressure, we would be doomed as an independent nation. We have not struggled for our freedom and achieved it in order to follow this ignoble path. Indeed, the reasons to adhere to an independent policy are even greater today than they were in the past.

11 No immediate danger, of a military kind, confronts us, that is to say, nothing of that type is going to happen suddenly. It may even take a year or two before Pakistan has absorbed this military aid in full measure. Though actual danger may not be near, potential danger begins immediately and we have to make difficult decisions about our future course of action. We cannot enter into a race of armaments with a country backed by the great might of the U.S.A. Apart from this, we are not constituted that way. We should certainly make our defence forces as efficient as possible. We may fill in some loop-holes. But we do not propose to divert our resources from peaceful purposes of development to military ends. That would weaken the country instead of strengthening it. Ultimately our strength lies in our unity of purpose, firm determination and the progress we make. I

think that India will not fail whatever trials might be in store for her.

12 Among the consequences of this military aid to Pakistan is the possibility of such loans and other help that we may get from America for our developmental programmes to cease. Indeed, it is for us to consider whether it is in consonance with India's dignity to accept any kind of aid from the U S A when they are arming and militarizing Pakistan at a rapid pace. We cannot allow ourselves to be bought off in that way. This leads to the conclusion that we shall have to rely on our own more or less unaided efforts to make good. The problem before us, as laid down in the Five Year Plan, was difficult enough even if aid came. Without aid, it will be far more difficult. But, it may be, that this very difficulty will rouse up our people to greater efforts, to austerity, and to pour such resources as they have in right channels.

13. Apart from these major topics, I referred in my speeches in Parliament to the new turn that colonialism had taken.¹⁰ Instead of withdrawing, it was trying to entrench itself. During the last few days, there has been a conference of African students in Delhi.¹¹ All these students were Government of India scholars. Their very presence brought home to us this new colonialism which is trying to create white dominions in Africa. British policy in such matters is not uniform. Even now in the Gold Coast and Nigeria in West Africa, there are some signs of progress, but in other parts of Africa, there has been terrible repression. The French Government also is holding fast to Morocco and Tunisia.

10 Nehru referred in the Lok Sabha on 23 December to the "very unfortunate reversal of the process of withdrawal of colonialism" and regretted that efforts were being made to "perpetuate and lengthen the days of colonial rule" by supporting the Governments of "a small or relatively small racial group."

11. Nehru inaugurated the meeting of the African Students' Association held on 26 and 27 December 1953 at Delhi University.

and crushing all opposition. And yet, in Indo-China, Ho Chi Minh forces have gained some further victories and France is being bled white.¹² She may count as one of the great powers still, but, in reality, she has neither the strength nor the capacity to function as such.

14 Four days ago, I went to Fatehgarh Sahib, a famous gurdwara in Pepsu. You may have read of the incidents that took place there.¹³ There was nothing much in them actually and perhaps the newspaper reports were slightly coloured because journalists tend to give a somewhat exaggerated picture of such happenings. Nevertheless, what happened there was serious enough. It was a deliberate attempt by the violence of a few to prevent the great majority from functioning. That is not only violence but violence of the fascist type, and Master Tara Singh openly declares that that is his policy. It is impossible for any Government to ignore these challenges, based on violence. Master Tara Singh played an important part at Fatehgarh. The real organizer, however, is supposed to have been Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala,¹⁴ the man who was the Chief Minister of Pepsu for some time till President's rule came in. Gian Singh organized all this and then quietly slipped away. He did not even have the courage to do himself what he was advising others to do. Soon we shall be having general

¹² Viet Minh forces on 26 December split the French army in Indo-China by a lightning drive from the China Sea to the Thailand border and, with the capture of the frontier town of Thakhek, cut the last supply line by land of the French and the American arms to Northern Laos

¹³ At the Sikh congregation which Nehru was to address on 27 December, slogans in favour of the Punjabi suba and Master Tara Singh were raised. Master Tara Singh, when asked to intervene and restore calm, refused and Nehru left without making a speech. In the clashes which followed, a number of policemen were injured

¹⁴ (1901-1979) Revenue Minister of Patiala state, 1947; Chief Minister of Pepsu, 1952-53

elections in Travancore-Cochin and Pepsu.¹⁵ If large-scale violence takes place during these elections, it will be difficult to hold them.

15. The Prime Minister of Ceylon has made a proposal¹⁶ that the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon should meet from time to time, at least once a year, to discuss common problems informally. Such a proposal is, on the face of it, good, and I have expressed my agreement with it. But there can be little discussion about any problem when there is vital difference in approach. The fact that Pakistan aligns itself completely with one of the great military blocs necessarily makes it subservient to the policy of that bloc and, more especially, that of the U.S.A. Pakistan's foreign policy has largely revolved round some specific issues like Kashmir. For this purpose they seek the help and sympathy of other countries. They have not been much concerned with world issues as a whole, but they look upon themselves as a leading nation of the Middle East and Western Asia. Thus, any talks about international affairs with them are likely to founder on this preliminary approach. Our attempt has been to have as large an area as possible free from the prospect of war. Burma, and to some extent, Indonesia, have agreed to this approach. Some other countries in Asia have been sympathetic to it. Even Egypt has turned more and more towards this policy. In fact, the Arab-Asian group in the U.N. to some extent represented this area of peace. Pakistan's acceptance of military aid from the U.S. breaks up this Arab-Asian group and enlarges the possible area of war. Thus, Pakistan's policy is basically opposed to our policy. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, rather naively, tells us that the strengthening of Pakistan means the strengthening of India's defences.¹⁷ As a matter of

15. It was announced on 15 December 1953 that general elections to Pepsu and Travancore-Cochin Assemblies would be held in the first week of March 1954.

16. On 23 December 1953.

17. Mahomed Ali had said this on 26 December 1953.

fact, this military aid to Pakistan may be helpful to the western group of nations in case of war, but it brings danger nearer to Pakistan

16. It is interesting to study the reaction of Asian countries to the U.S.-Pakistan talks about military aid. Practically every country in southern Asia as well as Egypt has criticized Pakistan and disliked the idea. Some of them have considered it dangerous for the peace and freedom of Asia. Press comments from even Turkey, which is so closely associated with the U.S., have not been very favourable to this proposal. While this is so, we must not build too much on this resentment in Asian countries. Nearly all these countries are weak and are susceptible to pressure tactics. The United Kingdom Government evidently does not view with favour these developments in Pakistan, although much has not been said in public against them. What is happening is that British influence not only in Pakistan, but in the countries of Western Asia, is gradually being replaced by American influence. That is not to the liking of the United Kingdom.

17. We have recently had some talks about Kashmir at the official level between representatives of India and Pakistan.¹⁸ A conference of this kind at this stage did not have much meaning, because the whole context of our discussions has changed. Nevertheless, I did not wish to cancel it at the last moment. But I made it clear to the Pakistan Government that these talks would be strictly

¹⁸ The joint committees of civil and military experts, meeting in Delhi from 21 to 29 December 1953, discussed the following preliminary conditions which they considered necessary for holding a plebiscite in Kashmir: (1) the creation and maintenance of a peaceful atmosphere, (2) arrangements for the withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistani nationals from Kashmir, (3) the size and character of the armed forces to be maintained in the state during the plebiscite period, (4) vesting the local authorities with the responsibility of administering the "Azad Kashmir" areas, and (5) safeguarding the fundamental rights of the people of the state.

informal and I would not consider it a formal conference. As was to be expected, the talks have yielded no particular results. Some people have suggested that I should meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I do not see what purpose such a meeting could serve at this stage. I am very fully occupied during the next two months or so, but apart from this, I do not propose to have a meeting with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, till we know exactly where we stand in regard to American aid for Pakistan.

18. Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a visit to Calcutta where, as usual, I had one of the biggest public meetings that I have seen.¹⁹ There were many other functions too and, on the whole, I had the sensation that things were not so bad there as had been made out. I performed the opening ceremony of an Indian Marine Engineering College²⁰ where a number of smart young boys were under training. I visited also the Indian Statistical Institute²¹ founded and fathered by Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis.²² I have been watching this institute for many years since its early beginnings in a small way. It has now grown enormously and has become a real international centre of work. There were professors and students there from many other countries. In talking with them, I found that this Indian Statistical Institute was considered to be one of the best in the world and, certainly, the outstanding one in the whole of Asia. This was not a question of mere size, but much more so of the quality of work that was being done there. I was much impressed by it.

19 Nehru addressed an estimated crowd of half a million people at a meeting in Calcutta on 13 December 1953

20 On 14 December 1953

21 The Indian Statistical Institute established in 1932 was given the status of an institute of national importance in 1959

22 (1893-1972) Fellow of the Royal Society, Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta, 1945-48, Statistical Adviser to Government of India, 1949-55, Founder-Director of the Indian Statistical Institute, member, Planning Commission, 1955-1967.

More and more, we shall have to rely upon statistics, in the widest sense of the term, for our planning and other work. There can be no planning without adequate information. Take even our attempts to deal with our land system. It is easy to lay down principles, but it is much more difficult to translate them into action without adequate data about the size and nature of holdings. It was for this purpose that the Planning Commission suggested a land survey. That, no doubt, is essential. But there is always a danger in our getting entangled in vast undertakings which absorb a great deal of time and energy. Therefore, the normal way of getting information is now by what are called sample surveys, which give fairly accurate information. The Indian Statistical Institute has specialized in this work and is, indeed, one of the pioneers. In trying to collect statistical information, we should always remember that we must not get lost in unnecessary details. We have to be clear as to what particular information we require for our purpose and get it without spreading out all over the place. I say this because there is a tendency in our secretariats to issue long circular letters asking for every kind of information, without thinking of what is really important and what is not. The result is not only delay and expense, but a mass of detail which hides important facts.

19. The Finance Minister²³ said yesterday that the general economic position in the country was good. I entirely agree with him, though I realize that problems of unemployment and the like are serious. We must see both sides of the picture and not forget the fact that we are making good progress in production on many fronts. This is a sure index of progress. Whether that progress is rapid enough or not is another matter, and we should always try to push it forward. We are just half-way through the first Five Year Plan stage and the time has come when we must give earnest thought to the second major stage. We have said that this should be based

23 C D Deshmukh

principally on planning from below and we have to devise adequate methods for this. Planning is not merely a question of allotting priorities, although this is important, or of taking up additional avenues of work, but it is a co-ordinated view of the Indian scene and basic policies and objectives. Therefore, we have always to be thinking of this changing scene in India and the world and adapt ourselves to it.

20. I am leaving today on a rapid, but fairly extensive tour. I visit Jalgaon for the All-India National Trade Union Congress session,²⁴ then to Bombay to lay the foundation-stone of the new institute for fundamental and atomic energy research,²⁵ then to Hyderabad for the Science Congress.²⁶ I proceed next to Bangalore to see new developments in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory.²⁷ From there, I go to Nagpur, Wardha and Sevagram.²⁸ I shall return to Delhi on the 6th of January. It is no easy matter to leave Delhi at this stage when important decisions have to be taken from day to day.

21. I wish you and your State hard work during the year to come and achievement in the great tasks that have fallen to the lot of our generation in India. May we all face them with strength, faith and courage and not be deflected from the right path because of adverse circumstances.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

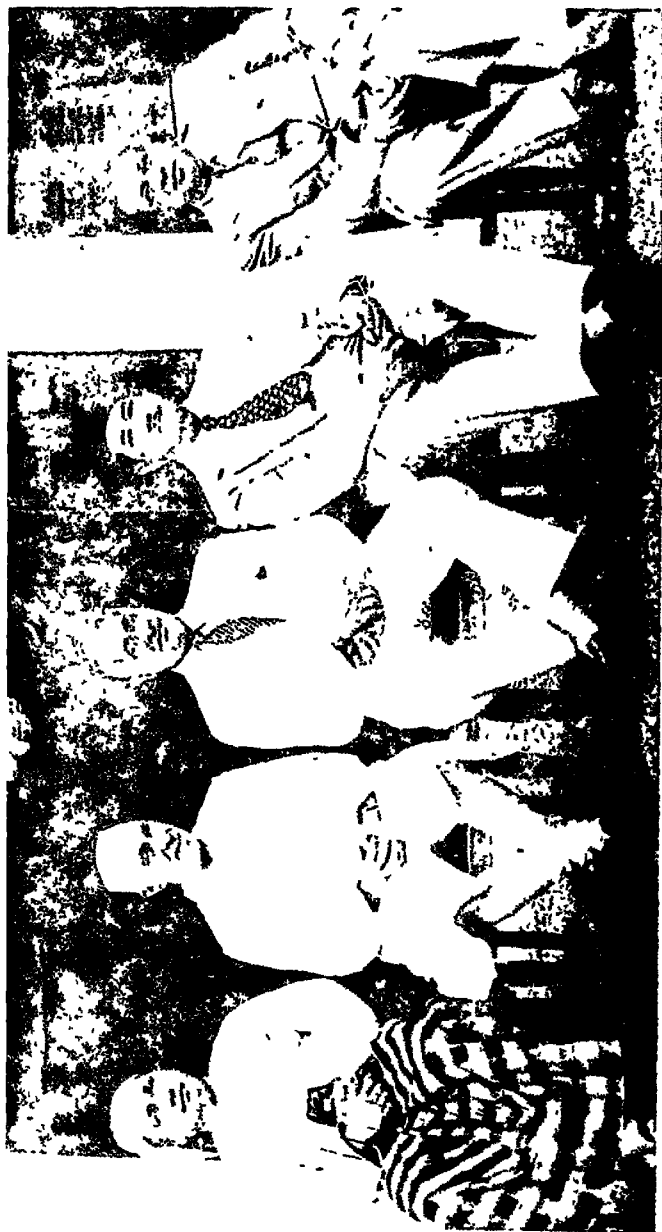
24 The session from 29 December 1953 to 2 January 1954 was inaugurated by Nehru.

25 The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research was started to promote fundamental research in physics, mathematics and nuclear science.

26 The forty-first session of the Indian Science Congress was inaugurated by Nehru on 2 January 1954.

27 On 4 January 1954.

28 On 4-5 January 1954.



With U Nu, John Kotelawala, Ali Sastromidjojo, Mahomed Ali,
Colombo, 28 April 1954

With Vice-President S Radhakrishnan, Zhou Enlai and President Rajendra Prasad,
New Delhi, 26 June 1954



At Nangal, 8 July 1954

New Delhi
18 January, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was written on the last day of 1953. This is thus the first letter of the New Year. A new year always makes one look back on the record of the past year and, even more so, look forward to what one hopes to do in the future that is unfolding itself. My mind is full of thoughts and ideas which I should like to share with you. But I write in some haste on the eve of going to Kalyani for the Congress session,¹ and I have, therefore, to restrain myself somewhat from burdening you with too long a letter.

2 Looking back at this past year, I have a sense of satisfaction at what has been achieved, for the record of what has been done is a long one and would do credit to any country. And yet, the record of what we intended to do or what we should have done and have not done, is also a fairly long one. Also, in spite of the progress we are making, it is not clear to me that we are gaining substantially in the race between the forces of construction and those that would pull us back. We are apt to grow complacent because of the hard work that we put in and often the results that we achieve. It is difficult for us to be objective about our own work or achievements. And yet, the only way to test our work is from the strictest point of view, and nothing is more harmful than complacency. How can we be satisfied or content when the vast problem of unemployment is with us, with all the human suffering that it involves.

¹ The Working Committee met at Kalyani in West Bengal on 19 and 20 January, followed by the 59th session of the Indian National Congress from 21 to 24 January.

3. A distressing feature has been that we do not spend even the moneys allotted and sanctioned. This is apparent both in some of the Departments of the Central Government as well as in the States. This indicates that it is not lack of money that is coming in our way but something else, whatever that may be. Sometimes, it may be a lack of technical personnel or sheer competence. That does not seem to me to be the major reason. Inevitably, I come to the conclusion that our administrative apparatus and methods of procedure are out of date and not suited for conditions which require rapid action. We continue to function in the old ruts and there is little sense of urgency. Even when there is that sense, it is checked and baulked by the innumerable traps that our procedure has laid down. These rules of procedure were drawn up long ago under entirely different circumstances and for different objectives. It is not surprising that they do not meet the needs of the situation that we have to face. You will remember the criticism that Mr. Appleby made in his report. The old rules are not in line with a democratic set-up, but, what is more, they are meant for leisurely times and not for a five-year developmental plan to be worked out with speed.

4. Both the Central Government and the States have discussed these matters repeatedly, but we do not seem to get a move on to any appreciable extent. What then are we to do? There is no particular point in planning, if implementation for this is going to be inadequate. Even in regard to our community projects, the States have been unable to spend the moneys sanctioned and there is quite a big gap in this respect. Last year, Rs. 8 crores were sanctioned and somewhat less than two crores were spent, this too probably on overheads. This year, Rs. 22 crores have been sanctioned and I doubt very much if we will spend even a major part of that sum. We cannot complain of the people, for, wherever the right approach has been made, the results have been extraordinarily good. The national extension programme, barely four months old now, has undoubtedly caught the imagination of our people and some kind of a movement is growing

up around it. If our governmental work does not keep pace with the demands made upon it by this movement, then we shall suffer in more ways than one.

5. It is thus a matter of the first priority to revise our rules, procedures and regulations, so as to bring them in line with a democratic set-up and remove or change everything that comes in the way of speed of execution. This question was considered by our Cabinet a few days ago² and it was the unanimous opinion of all Ministers present that we must give this revision of our old rules a high priority. I am having this matter taken up immediately and I should like you to do likewise, so far as your Government is concerned.

6. I have mentioned Mr. Appleby's name above. He is here in India again at our invitation. I should like to profit by this visit of his to the largest extent possible. If you want him to go to your State, please intimate to us and prepare the ground for his visit by collecting all relevant data. He has not too much time at his disposal, but it may be possible for him to visit some States, if he can do really good work there.

7. Since I wrote to you, I have paid visits to Bombay to lay the foundation-stone of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research,³ to Hyderabad for the Science Congress and many other important engagements,⁴ then to Bangalore, Nagpur, Wardha and Sevagram.⁵ This tour was a very hard one for

² On 16 January, the Cabinet laid stress on the need to change the rules governing the Civil Services to suit the new conditions. The Cabinet also discussed the relationship between the Finance and the other Ministries, the questioning of the Ministers' decisions by the executive heads and the delays caused in the implementation of the projects by outdated procedures. It recommended the setting up of the Office and Methods Division and a Department of Personnel in each Ministry and Department.

³ On 1 January 1954

⁴ On 2 January, Nehru inaugurated the Science Congress and the next day addressed the Kasturba Trust and the Bharat Sevak Samaj workers at Wardha and Nagpur respectively.

⁵ On 4 and 5 January 1954

me, but it was satisfying also. More especially, it was good to pay visit again to Gandhiji's old hut, where we had met so often before and which was so full of memories.

8. Apart from the major economic issues that are before us, two important matters have affected the public greatly. One is Korea and the other is the proposed military aid to Pakistan. About Korea, I shall not say much, because full news is being published in the newspapers. In view of the major interests involved and our own intimate concern and responsibility, we gave long and anxious consideration to these questions.⁶ Broadly speaking, we were in agreement with the argument put forward on the part of the Chinese and the North Koreans, that is, that explanations should continue. Thus far, only a small fraction of the total number of prisoners of war have had these explanations given to them and have made a choice this way or that. Thus, in regard to the majority of P O W.s the process laid down in the armistice agreement has not been complied with.

9. On the other hand, there is a strict time-limit laid down in the terms of reference and we cannot exceed that except by consent of parties. That consent was not forthcoming and so all that we could do was to express our views clearly and then to restore the prisoners to the respective detaining sides. In our view, it will not be correct for either side to release any prisoners who have not had explanations given to them yet. But it appears highly likely that the U N Command will release them, which really means handing them over to the South Korean Government or the Formosan Government. This is a very unfortunate development, but we are powerless to prevent it. As I write to you, I do not exactly know what will happen, but probably after the 23rd January, most of these prisoners will have been handed over and only a few

6 The N N R C pleading incompetence to release the prisoners or hold them beyond 23 January had decided to hand them over to the respective detaining sides. This decision was criticized by both Commands for different reasons.

hundreds will remain with the Indian Custodian Force. These will consist of about three hundred prisoners, whom the Northern Command refuses to take back, and about two hundred or three hundred P.O.W.s who have declared their intention of going to some neutral country.

10 The Commission and the Indian Custodial Force have to continue functioning in Korea till the 22nd February as they have certain other duties also to perform. By that date they have all to return. We are now making shipping arrangements for their return gradually in the month of February. It is not easy to get ships for this purpose.

11 You will have seen that the President of the U.N., Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, has asked the member-States to agree to reconvening the General Assembly on the 9th of February. This was done at our request. This question has not been decided yet and replies from the member-States are being awaited.⁷

12 The other important issue, and one which has exercised very much the imagination of India, is the proposal to give military aid to Pakistan by the U.S.A. We do not yet know what this will lead to, but whether much aid is given or not, this has undoubtedly produced a new situation. American policy is so much governed now by military considerations, to the exclusion of other important factors, that it is difficult to judge where it will go to. The importance of a person like Senator McCarthy⁸ in the public life of America is itself significant of much that is not good. Anyhow, we have to consider what we should do in the circumstances. Obviously, we cannot go in for having a race in armaments. I think this is an ideal opportunity for us to concentrate popular

⁷ The General Assembly could not be convened as the majority of the member-nations opposed it.

⁸ Joseph Raymond McCarthy (1908-1957) Republican Senator from Wisconsin, 1946-1957, conducted a vicious campaign against many individuals whom he accused of anti-American activities, 1950-54, and censured by the Senate in 1954.

enthusiasm on developing India rapidly, in agriculture, industries, etc We can even utilize this opportunity to get large-scale developmental loans from the public I am merely mentioning this matter to you now so that you might think on these lines Perhaps, I shall write to you more fully later on this subject Meanwhile, care must be taken to prevent communal feelings or any anti-Pakistan sentiments from spreading Pakistan is economically and politically in a difficult position and we should not make her feel desperate Indeed, this is a test for us If we continue to be friendly to Pakistan and divert our energies towards nation-building activities without getting excited or alarmed, that itself will be a great triumph for us

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
1 February, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last on the 18th January, much has happened. In India, the chief events have been the Congress session at Kalyani and the Republic Day celebrations in Delhi and the rest of the country. In Korea, many developments have taken place and the great bulk of the prisoners of war have been restored to the detaining sides.

2 The Congress session at Kalyani had a peculiar importance. It was held in Bengal after a full quarter of a century. During this period, Bengal had ceased to be what it was and a large part of it had become incorporated in another country. West Bengal remained, facing its tremendous problems with fortitude and courage. It is well to remember that Bengal was the cradle of our nationalist movement and many of the giants of old came from Bengal. It was also in Calcutta twenty five years ago that the Congress passed a resolution¹ which inevitably led to the Independence resolution² of the Lahore Congress which followed. Thus, we met in Bengal again after fulfilling that pledge which was taken a quarter of a century ago in Calcutta.

3. Another reason for the importance of this session of the Congress was a feeling of something approaching a crisis in

1 On 27 December 1928, the Congress at its session in Calcutta resolved that if within a year the British Government did not accept the All Parties Committee's demand for a dominion status, the Congress would work for the complete independence of India.

2 The Lahore Congress on 31 December 1929 declared the attainment of complete independence to be its goal.

our international relations Crisis is perhaps too big a word for us to use in this connection but, undoubtedly, a major change had taken place, which might well lead to critical days ahead That change relates not only to our neighbour country, Pakistan, but even more so, to the United States of America. Our people, all over the country, had reacted to these new developments and were very conscious that something important was occurring Even before the Congress met, there had been unanimous expressions of public opinion in all its forms all over the country, supporting the policy that the Government of India was following ³ Seldom have we seen such a widespread, conscious and unanimous reaction, and foreign observers, not always friendly to India, realized that here was a proud country refusing to submit to pressure

4. The people gathered at Kalyani sensed this public feeling, and it was natural that the Congress should deal with it in its own way That way was a realistic analysis of the situation and a call to the people to meet it in the way we have met perils and dangers in the past ⁴ Stress was laid on our desire for friendly relations with Pakistan and the U.S.A., so that, in the excitement of the moment, our people should not be diverted into wrong paths We are not anti-Pakistan or anti-America or indeed anti any other people or country. Indeed, it is inevitable, having regard to geography, past history and culture and the requirements of the present, that India and Pakistan should live in friendly co-operation No present controversy or problem between the two

³ For example, the Praja Socialist Party, the Communist Party of India, the All India Peace Council and the provincial Congress committees all condemned the proposed U S -Pakistan military pact

⁴ The resolution passed by the Congress on 24 January 1954 described as grave the situation created by the U S offer of military aid to Pakistan, reminded the United States of her "long record as champion of freedom and democracy," and urged her to refrain from taking any step which would tend to reverse the process of history in Asia

countries should be allowed to overshadow this basic fact. So also, we desire friendly relations with the United States of America, that great country, which is playing such an important role in world affairs and on whom a tremendous responsibility is cast. It is not, therefore, through any ill will to Pakistan or the U.S.A., much less to their peoples, that we have reacted in the way we have done to the proposals of military aid from the U.S. to Pakistan. We have reacted in this way for basic reasons, which are stated briefly in the Congress resolution. Even the quantum of military aid is not so important. It is the policy underlying it and the inevitable consequences of it that are dangerous from the point of view of peace and war as well as the freedom of Asia.

5 We have kept ourselves away from any military entanglements and alignments with the two power blocs. We have, however, avoided criticisms of other countries' policies as far as we could. Sometimes, we have had to express an opinion in the U.N. or in our Parliament. Even so, we spoke moderately, but this intrusion of a new and dangerous element in the politics of Asia, right across our border, was not a matter which could be viewed by us lightly. Some people in foreign countries have criticized us for making much of this and, more especially, for encouraging the public to express itself about it.⁵ It was said that this was a new form of diplomacy, trying to support, by public demonstrations, a policy that our Foreign Office and our diplomats were pursuing.⁶ To some extent, this is true. But our critics forget that we are the children of a revolutionary period in India's history. We have derived our strength from our people and we go to those people whenever any important development takes place which is likely to affect them. Our view of diplomacy is not limited to the secret

5 For example, the *Daily Express* (London) on 14 January and the *Dawn* (Karachi) on 21 January 1954.

6 On 4 January 1954 the Pakistan Government protested against 'a planned campaign' in India to organize protests. The Government of India rejected the protest on the next day.

functioning of Foreign Offices or even the working of Parliament. We have both to tell our people what is happening and to draw strength from them. If a crisis comes, it is those people who count. How then are we to ignore them?

6 There is another aspect of this question. If we do not give a proper lead to our people in such matters, others are likely to give an improper lead. If we are a wide awake Government and a living organization, we have to function accordingly in concert with our people.

7. The Congress passed a number of resolutions dealing with international matters.⁷ As a matter of fact, all these resolutions are parts of an organic and integrated view of the situation. They hang together. Indeed, even the resolutions dealing with the domestic situation are parts of this integrated outlook. Therefore, all these resolutions should be considered in their entirety. I am sending you with this letter a copy of these resolutions for your reference and I would beg of you to read them very carefully and to see that they are fully understood, in all their implications, by others. All the resolutions ultimately lead to the final one which is entitled 'A Call to the Nation'.⁸ There is nothing dramatic or flamboyant about this resolution. It is simple and brief, yet there is, I believe, strength and faith in this, as in other resolutions. It is not a cry of fear or of weakness. As a foreign correspondent said: "Here was a proud nation reacting to a certain situation."

7. Three resolutions—on Korea, colonial domination and racial discrimination, and India's foreign policy—expressed appreciation of the policy pursued by the Government in this regard, hoped that a decision would be taken soon by the political conference to end the stalemate in Korea and that nationalism would ultimately triumph in Africa and Asia despite the support given to "the feudal and reactionary regimes" by some Western Powers.

8. The resolution said that in view of the fast deteriorating international situation, the country's unity and spirit of self-reliance should be sustained by improving economic and social conditions.

8. The call has come and we have to answer the call. We have made it clear that our way is not a way of war but of peace and our idea of strengthening a nation is to rely on ourselves and develop the country as rapidly as possible.

9. Some people in Pakistan and elsewhere say that we are jealous of the possibility of Pakistan becoming strong with foreign aid.⁹ That is a complete misunderstanding. We are convinced that foreign aid of this kind does not strengthen a nation but rather weakens it in the long run. In the short run, it means, whatever may be said to the contrary, a limitation of the independence of action of a country. We know very well that a gesture from us would bring very considerable military aid to us from the United States. But that gesture is not going to be made, because we value our freedom and we know that freedom cannot be preserved by others for us. Even though we may get some temporary increase in our armed strength, we shall lose the essence of freedom and that spirit of self-reliance without which no free country can subsist for long.

10. I dislike joining in the game of praising my own country at the expense of others. Every country has that feeling. I do not wish to say that India has a particular mission for others and all that, but, at the same time, I see no reason why we should accept other people's missions to improve us or, as is said, to protect us. I believe that India has a certain individuality, a certain genius of her own, as many other countries also have. Each can give something to others as well as receive from them. Difficulties arise when, so-called gifts are imposed upon one and policies thrust down by one country upon another. If such gifts are accepted, then the individuality of the nation accepting it suffers and such particular contribution that it can make to the world suffers equally. We have no desire to impose

⁹ For instance, Ian Stephens, former editor of *The Statesman*, stated on 26 January at Karachi that the underlying reason for India's strong reaction had been her desire to keep Pakistan "weak".

ourselves on others in any way and we have no intentions of being imposed upon. If a policy of live and let live was followed by the nations of the world, there would be no war and no major conflict. Today, however, we are faced with attempts by powerful nations to impose themselves upon others and to expect these others to follow their particular line of action or even their way of living, and they are even prepared to go to war for this purpose. In this conflict of desires and urges, fears and passions, we have, in our own small way, attempted to keep an area of peace, where the cold war, with its hatred and violence, does not receive encouragement. That policy is not only ideally sound but practically the only safe policy to pursue.

11. We had hoped that other countries, more especially in Asia, would pursue a like policy, so that this area of peace might cover a good part of Asia. I have no doubt that many Asian countries feel this way, but some of them are subjected to heavy pressure and sometimes fear assails them.

12. An eminent Egyptian recently coined a new word—Afrasia. We have heard of Eurasia and Amerasia. The idea of Africa and Asia having common interests and trying to co-operate in some measure is a relatively new development. But it represents a significant trend, which should be encouraged. Uptil now, it has almost been taken for granted that Europe or America must play a dominant role in the rest of the world. That idea no longer holds good, in our minds at least. Europe or rather Western Europe, still clings to that idea to some extent, but is, on the whole, in retreat. The United States of America, however, are a young, powerful and dynamic country, believing in their own destiny to shape the world after their own image. So also, in a different way, is the Soviet Union. I think that the time has come when we should state politely but firmly that the countries of Asia and Africa also happen to have a mind and will of their own. It is extraordinary that questions relating to the future of Asia should be settled in Europe or America without even a proper reference to the people concerned.

13. All of you have celebrated the Republic Day in your respective States. I can speak only from personal knowledge of Delhi, though I have had reports of elaborate and successful functions all over the country. There can be little doubt that Republic Day has established itself as a great popular festival and is not merely an official function. In Delhi, the Republic Day parade and pageant were an improvement on the past year and were tremendously impressive. There were many eminent foreign representatives present, apart from the diplomats, and I think that each one of them realized that something remarkable was happening in India. Here was a great nation, determined to make good, marching forward to its goal and progressively making good. The military part of the parade was, as usual, good, and the smart and efficient bearing of our soldiers, sailors and airmen warmed our hearts. There were also representatives of the Territorial Army and the National Cadet Corps, both boys and girls. There were the school children of Delhi in large numbers and of all ages and there was the great cultural pageant, in the making of which many States had contributed. The tableaux were very fine and artistic. As a part of this great cultural display came many hundreds of folk dancers in their varied and many coloured attire, bringing a touch of gaiety and dance and song to this pageant of India. They also brought out the infinite variety of India, all unified in our great Republic under our beautiful flag.

14. I do not know how others felt on this occasion. I know that I felt proud and greatly moved at this entire spectacle of India on the march. There were the people of our defence forces, our youth, our children, our fellow-citizens from far off out-posts of the Indian Union, our dancers and singers, all combining to bring about a noble pageant of India today. There was a sense of balance about it and a dynamism, a feeling of pride. I have no doubt that the vast numbers of people who saw this parade and pageant had a feeling of pride in India and, more especially, in the way we were progressing and making good.

15 Last year we invited a large number of representatives from our tribal areas and, more especially, folk dancers from them. This was a happy thought and this year it was improved upon. There were about 700 of them in Delhi from all parts of India, each fascinating in its own way, each a small pattern in the rich garment of India. Above all, this was important because it showed not only to us but to the world that was looking on how much importance we attach to these fellow-citizens of ours and to the development of the basic culture of our people. In our political life, we tend to forget that life consists of other things than politics, and indeed, that the other things are more important than politics, even though politics often overshadows the rest.

16 Many people in India talk a great deal of culture, usually in connection with language. Their idea of culture appears to be to exclude this and that, to introduce some dead conformity and to produce something artificial and unrelated to life and the living and varied traditions of our people. There was far more culture in this assembly of dancers from various parts of India than in the small rooms or halls where the learned discourse about it.

17. We have to encourage this cultural tradition of India, which is so strong and so deep and, if we are to impress our people, we have to speak to them in terms of that tradition. In our developmental programmes, this aspect of culture must be given a prominent place. That will give those programmes more life than the speeches we deliver. Some of our people go to distant countries abroad to learn the art of publicity and social service. They come back full of very good ideas, which are totally inapplicable to India and which have no relation to conditions here. These experts speak to our people in ways which are foreign to them and, therefore, do not convey much understanding. It has always surprised me that anyone should seek to learn the art of approaching our people in foreign countries. The only real way of conveying any message to the people is to be in tune with them, to live with them, to speak their language and to understand their ways. The art of publicity in India can be

learnt much more by mixing with our own people on friendly terms and, more particularly, in understanding their songs and dances. The art of social service in India can be learnt much more by going to Sevagram or many other like places in India than by going to the social service centres or publicity experts of America. I do not know how many of you have heard of Tukodji Maharaj,¹⁰ who functions specially in Madhya Pradesh. He is a man of religion, in the widest sense of the word, not sectarian, but he has undertaken to develop the countryside and by fitting himself into the life of the people, he is bringing about a silent revolution in hundreds of villages. Without the slightest external help, he is doing something which the people running our community projects might well envy.

18 A part of the Republic Day celebrations was a rally of the National Cadet Corps in Delhi. This consisted of both boys and girls and there were the new auxiliaries. I was glad to see them. The time has, however, come for us to extend this N.C.C. rapidly all over the country. In particular, the auxiliary N.C.C. should include in its scope all the colleges and schools in India. We give them this training not to produce regular soldiers, but to improve them in many ways, both physically and mentally. You know that the N.C.C. cadets have done very good work in the social service sphere. But the main thing is to discipline this younger generation. I hope, therefore, that your Government will encourage in every way both the senior and junior wings of the N.C.C. as well as the auxiliaries. Any money spent on them is well spent. We are continually talking about student indiscipline and other troubles that we are having in our colleges and universities. Let us improve our educational systems and methods by all means, but let us lay stress on this

10 (1909-1968) Social and spiritual leader, took part in the national movement and devoted himself to national reconstruction with emphasis on khadi, village industries, prohibition, illiteracy eradication and Harijan uplift, founded Sri Gurudeo Sevashram at Nagpur, 1947 and Guru-Kunj Ashram at Mozari in Amravati district, 1954.

obvious way of improving our younger generation. The Territorial Army and its auxiliary should also be expanded rapidly.

19 In Korea, the chapter of the functioning of our custodial force is gradually coming to an end. The great bulk of the prisoners of war have been handed back to the detaining sides.¹¹ Both of them protested and objected to some of our decisions, but we stuck to them and the P.O.W.s were handed over. It is true that the U.N. Command immediately released them, contrary to our wishes in the matter. What is worse is that these P.O.W.s were handed over to the South Korean Government and the Formosa Government.

20 At present only 121 P.O.W.s remain with the custodial force. Of these 17 are persons who were being tried by court martial for grave offences. In some cases, the trial was almost over and *prima facie* cases had been established against these P.O.W.s. The trial could not be concluded because the U.N. Command refused to give facilities for it towards the end. The defence witnesses could not come. Obviously the right course would be for these trials to be concluded, while our forces are there. If that does not happen, and it is unlikely to happen in view of U.N. Command's views in this matter, then the only course open to us is to hand them over to the U.N. Command expressly asking them to continue the trial.

21. Then there are 104 P.O.W.s who refused to be repatriated and, at the same time, did not want to be handed over to their old detaining sides. Some of them wanted to go to neutral countries. These people are offering a problem to us. If we can settle their future by reference to other countries, we shall send them there. Those, whose future cannot be settled before we leave, will have to be brought over by us to India. We cannot leave them there. Indeed some of them threaten to commit suicide if we leave them there in this way. It is likely that we may have to bring about 30 or 40 such P.O.W.s to India for a temporary stay here till their fate is decided.

¹¹ On 23 January 1954

22. The Kashmir Prime Minister, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, has been in Delhi¹² with some of his colleagues, discussing the constitutional set up as between Kashmir and India. These talks have had a satisfactory result. The Kashmir Government will soon put up certain proposals before their Constituent Assembly for implementing the Delhi Pact of 1952 and deciding various other matters also, including that of financial integration.

23. In my last letter to you, I referred to the urgent necessity of our revising our administrative rules and regulations. In this connection, I should like to remind you that the Planning Commission gave a good deal of thought and have discussed these at some length in the Five Year Plan. The conclusions in those chapters of the Five Year Plan were arrived at after long discussion between Ministers and the Planning Commission. Unfortunately, little has been done to give effect to them. I think that both the Central Government and the State Governments should refer to these chapters of the Planning Commission's report and immediately give effect to the recommendations made. Later I hope to write to you about certain other proposals that are being considered in this connection.

24. I am leaving tomorrow for Allahabad where I shall spend two days at the time of the *Kumbh Mela*.¹³ From there I am going to Travancore-Cochin for five days' stay in connection with the coming elections. I hope to return to Delhi on the 10th February. On the 12th and 13th and again on the 16th February, I shall go to Pepsu, also on an election tour. Parliament, as you know, will open on the 15th February. I hope to remain in Delhi more or less continuously after the 16th.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

¹² Between 27 and 31 January 1954

¹³ A religious assembly once every twelve years at the confluence of the Yamuna, Ganga, and (the underground) Saraswati in Allahabad.

New Delhi
15 March, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

It seems an age since I wrote to you last. It is in fact six weeks I have thus missed two of my fortnightlyes. And yet, this period of six weeks has been full of notable events on which I would have written to you. These events have crowded in upon us, one after the other, and left us little time to consider the full significance of each. As it is, the first quarter of every year is probably the busiest season for us in India. It is full of important conferences. The year begins with the Science Congress, somewhere in India, and we have the annual session of the National Congress. Both of these, and of course especially the latter, take up a great deal of time and energy of some of us. Many of these conferences attract eminent visitors from abroad and they take up a lot of time. Then we have the Republic Day celebrations, which are becoming fuller and more significant year after year. This year there was the *Kumbh Mela*, culminating in tragedy.¹ There were also general elections in two States, Travancore-Cochin² and Pepsu.³ There were the developments in Korea, with which we were intimately concerned, as the burden of decision fell on us, because of the conflict of views between the two Commands. The U.S. military aid to Pakistan was

1 On 3 February, the main bathing day, 500 people were killed and over 1000 injured in a stampede caused by the procession of the Naga sadhus.

2 In the elections held in February 1954, the Congress having failed to secure an absolute majority decided on 11 March to support the Praja Socialist Party Ministry headed by P.T. Pillai.

3 The Congress securing 37 out of 60 seats formed on 8 March a Ministry headed by Raghbir Singh.

an issue which naturally created a powerful impression all over India, not to mention other countries, and compelled us to consider various aspects of our policy afresh. There was the Governors' Conference.⁴ Two of our most important visitors were the Prime Minister of Ceylon⁵ and the Prime Minister⁶ of Canada. Then there has been the budget session in Parliament.⁷

2. This is a very brief summary of some of our activities and the problems that we have had to face. In the outside world strange and unexpected things have happened, more particularly in Egypt⁸ and Syria,⁹ and the Berlin Four-Power Conference has been held,¹⁰ yielding little result, but at least taking one small step forward in deciding upon a

⁴ The conference of Governors and Rajpramukhs was held on 1 and 2 March 1953

⁵ Sir John Kotelawala visited India from 15 to 19 January 1954. India and Sri Lanka signed an agreement, agreeing to take steps to stop illegal immigration. The Sri Lankan Government also agreed to register all people of Indian origin by the end of 1955. The agreement was ratified by both Governments on 13 February 1954.

⁶ Louis Stephen St Laurent (1887-1973) Barrister and politician. Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of Canada, 1941-46 and 1948, Prime Minister, 1948-57. Leader of the Opposition, 1957-58. Visited India from 21 to 28 February 1954.

⁷ On 15 February, the President addressed a joint session of the two Houses and on 19 and 27 February the railway and general budgets respectively were presented to Parliament.

⁸ On 25 February, Abdel Nasser took over from Neguib as Premier. On 8 March, Neguib was reappointed as Premier and Nasser became Military Governor and Vice-President.

⁹ Serious riots broke out in Damascus following a coup overthrowing President Shishakli's Government on 25 February. On 1 March, M. Harhem Atassi, taking over as new President, announced that the Constitution adopted in 1950 had been restored and a future Parliament would draw up a new Constitution.

¹⁰ The Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K., and France, meeting in Berlin from 25 January to 18 February, failed to reach agreement on the German question, the problem of European security, the Austrian question, the situation in Indo-China and on the question of disarmament. They however agreed to meet again in Geneva on 26 April to discuss the Korean and Indo-China questions.

conference to be held at Geneva in April next at which the People's Government of China is also to be represented

3 I could have written much to you about these and other matters because they deserve our consideration. But the very abundance of these activities has absorbed all my time and prevented me from writing. I am very sorry for this because I attach importance to my keeping in touch with you in this and other ways. Perhaps I tend sometimes to undertake to do more than my capacity would justify. I have had a warning of this only recently on returning from a brief but intensive tour in Madhya Bharat.¹¹ I have spent the last five days more or less in bed recovering from a slight infection. It was nothing serious, but it did indicate that I was overdoing things. Indeed I am dictating this letter from bed. My doctors and friends insist on my going slower in future. There is absolutely nothing to worry about, but I suppose I shall have to agree not to rush about quite so much as I have done in the past. I hope you will bear with me if I cannot undertake quite so many engagements in future as I have thus far done.

4 I do not quite know what subjects I should write to you about now out of the multitude that I have in my mind. Both the internal and external situations deserve our closest attention. We have to be wide awake all the time and responsive to new trends, new forces, new ideas, new developments. Nothing is more unwise than complacency. The U.S. military aid to Pakistan¹² is a very vital development with far-reaching consequences. There is no need for us to take up an alarmist view of the situation, but this does require rethinking in many ways. I shall refer to this matter a little later.

11 From 7 to 10 March 1954

12 The Prime Minister of Pakistan announced on 22 February that his Government had asked the U.S. Government for military assistance but said that Pakistan had not offered any military bases to the U.S.A. On 25 February, President Eisenhower agreed to comply with Pakistan's request and on 19 May 1954 the Defence Assistance Agreement between Pakistan and the U.S.A. was signed in Karachi.

5 The general elections that took place in Pepsu and Travancore-Cochin also deserve careful analysis. Broadly speaking, we have won handsomely in Pepsu and have been gravely disappointed at the result of the Travancore-Cochin elections, where we expected a much greater success. And yet, we must always remember that the actual result in Travancore-Cochin was not so bad as people imagined. Actually the Congress Party bettered its position somewhat. In numbers it was slightly better and in voting strength it was much better than two years ago. Nevertheless, it is true that the majority of the electorate voted for the various parties of the Opposition. The position in Travancore-Cochin is still rather a fluid one and much depends upon the final decision of the Praja Socialist Party, which, though relatively small in numbers, occupies a position of vantage. Normally the Congress Party, which is the biggest single party, would have attempted to form a Ministry with the co-operation of others, if such co-operation was available. Indeed, in the circumstances in Travancore-Cochin, no single party can form a Government without the active or passive co-operation of some other group. The Congress Party deliberately, and I think rightly, has not put itself forward as a claimant for the Ministry, in spite of its dominant position.

6 The election in Travancore-Cochin has shown us that it is quite likely that in future clear single-party majorities might not be available in States. The result would be some form of coalitions between like-minded groups or a fluid and unstable state of affairs. We must think of such situations from the broadest national point of view and not merely from a narrow party viewpoint. We must accept this type of development and adapt ourselves to it. Another important line of thought flowing from the Travancore-Cochin elections is that there is a vague feeling of dissatisfaction among the electorate with the present governments. I do not think this goes far and to some extent it is natural in a democratic set-up. Every existing Government has to face that desire for a change in the

electorate I am, however, referring to something deeper than that. It is a feeling that the Congress is not progressive enough and is becoming a little too static and conservative. It is easy of course for an opposition party to talk in a big way and people in responsible positions have necessarily to be more careful both in their talk and in their policies. Personally I have a fairly high opinion of the intelligence of the Indian electorate. They may make many mistakes and they are quite capable of being swept away by some momentary urge but, by and large, they are as good an electorate as anywhere else. Travelling about a good deal and meeting large numbers of people in various parts of the country, I make myself receptive to their feelings and reactions. The impression I get is, and this is derived not only from the general public but even from the Congress rank and file, that we are not moving fast enough and are much too cautious and conservative. That, I think, correctly represents the viewpoint of even the Congress as a whole and more so of some other groups. It is true that the people generally have, I think, a great deal of faith in the present leadership and our achievements have not been inconsiderable. I am pointing this out to you because we have to keep wide awake and always in touch with the mind of our people. It is only then that we can give it proper direction. Before doing so, of course, we have to direct our own minds consciously in that particular direction. We are passing through a special stage when the period of the first Five Year Plan is gradually coming to an end and thoughts are being directed to the drawing up of the second Five Year Plan. That is just the time when we have to think anew about our approaches and not be afraid of self-criticism.

7. You know that latest developments in regard to the U S military aid to Pakistan and you must have seen my

statement in Parliament.¹³ This matter has been before us for the last three or four months, and we had repeatedly given a clear expression of our opinion. The United States took their final decision and, inevitably, our decision followed. It must be remembered that this is no sudden or new development, as for the last two or three years there has been this tendency visible in the United States. Practically all the policies of the U S have been increasingly based on military considerations and the prospect of a third world war. It is called a policy of containment of the Communist world. Attaching importance to military factors alone, they have tended to ignore other major factors. A military base becomes more important than the goodwill of people. There are, I believe, over 200 American military bases all over the world, outside the United States. The result of this policy has led the United States to support reactionary as well as colonial regimes in various parts of the world. Some of the symbols of the "free world", for which America stands, are Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek and Bao Dai. It is not surprising that these symbolic figures do not bring visions of freedom in people's minds. In North Africa, French colonialism is directly or indirectly supported by the United States. In Spain, the fascist regime has entered into an alliance with the U.S.¹⁴ This process is now continuing in Western Asia, often at the expense of the United Kingdom. Logically, from a purely military point of view this addition to bases and points of vantage might perhaps be justified,

13 On 1 March, Nehru described U S military aid to Pakistan as a form of U S intervention in Indo-Pakistan affairs which would have a direct effect on the Kashmir issue. He said that Eisenhower's offer of military aid had increased tension in the area while Pakistan continued to refuse to sign a no-war declaration with India. He also announced that the Indian Government could no longer regard the U S observers in Kashmir as neutral.

14 On 26 September 1953, the U S A. and Spain signed a 20-year defence agreement which provided for the development and use of naval and air bases on Spanish soil by the United States in return for the supply of military equipment to Spain.

though there is no such thing as a purely military point of view when larger questions of strategy are considered. People count and the urges of large numbers of them cannot be ignored. In the United States, what is called McCarthyism has become a very important force which almost openly challenges even the President and the Administration. U.S. policy has thus both in the domestic and the international field, tended to become more conservative and rather tied up with reactionary elements in various parts of the world. America, instead of appearing as a liberating force, takes on the guise of something the reverse of it in the minds of many people in Asia and Africa. There is an obvious tendency to dictate the policies of other countries and a resentment where the other country does not fall in line. Even great countries like the United Kingdom are told openly what they should do and what they should not do. A recent statement by the American Assistant Secretary of State clearly indicated that the United States wish to have a dominating position in Asia.¹⁵

8 All this is justified on the plea of stopping Communist aggression. It is not clear how far this affects the Communist countries, except in so far as that the cold war continues and a shooting war is kept in view. But immediately this policy does affect the policies and freedom of other countries, notably in Asia. I have dealt with this aspect frequently in my public statements¹⁶ and I need not emphasize it. What I would like you to bear in mind is that during the last two or three years American policy has been concerned with Kashmir for two reasons. One is its geographical position from the military point of view and the possibility of having a base in the heart of Asia. The other is the possibility of rich mineral wealth in Kashmir. An important element in

¹⁵ Walter S. Robertson, the Assistant Secretary of State, told the House Appropriations Sub-Committee of the U.S. Congress on 26 January that "U.S. must dominate Asia for an indefinite period and pose a military threat to Communist China until it breaks up internally."

¹⁶ On 22 December 1953 and 23 January 1954.

American policy appears to be to control the sources of mineral wealth in various parts of the world. The U.S. is rich in its mineral resources, but it is exhausting them rather fast. Hence its desire to control other sources, more especially those which have what are called strategic minerals.

9. In the Kashmir conflict, the U.S. naturally incline towards Pakistan because Pakistan was a more pliable country. Indeed, Pakistan has been working for some kind of a close arrangement with the U.S. for the last two or three years. Pakistan's objective had little to do with the Communist countries and had almost everything to do with India. The U.S. also gradually began to woo Muslim countries. More and more conscious of their destiny of world leadership, they have tried to push out the U.K. from the Middle East and take their position as the leading power there. This has been no sudden development and has been a long-term policy. Step by step they have come to this agreement with Pakistan. This agreement is not, in terms, a military alliance, and yet, in effect, it is something more than that, and Pakistan passes under U.S. political and military influence. We do not know the volume of military aid that might be given. This is indeterminate and can be increased at will. It is unreasonable to imagine that the United States has deliberately adopted this basic policy even at the expense of injuring its relations with India, merely to give some little aid to Pakistan. That aid is bound to be substantial. A military mission has already gone to Pakistan.¹⁷ There will no doubt be surveys of mineral resources, particularly of uranium and other strategic minerals. There will be construction of airfields and communications and probably particular attention will be paid to air development. As a matter of fact, Pakistan has not got the trained personnel to deal with these developments. I have little doubt that American technical personnel will come there in large

17. The U.S. military mission arrived in Karachi on 22 March 1954 to make recommendations on military aid to Pakistan.

numbers. It must be remembered that the United States seldom function in a small way. In effect, therefore, Pakistan becomes a base for American political and military activity.

10. So far as Pakistan is concerned, I am quite sure that they have no fear of a Russian or Chinese invasion. A look at the map will convince anyone that it is almost physically impossible for such an invasion to take place across some of the highest mountains in the world. Obviously, Pakistan thinks of utilizing this aid against India. It is probably a fact that the U.S. Government do not want this to happen and will discourage it. But they have not been able to hold Syngman Rhee in Korea.

11. All this poses difficult problems for us. For us to accept this American policy or fall in line with Pakistan and accept American military aid would be to write off our freedom and indeed to write off Asian freedom. It so happens that India is practically the only country which has shown some independence and self-respect in this matter. For India to surrender would be not only an Asian but a world tragedy. Of course, we have no intention of doing so and the country has clearly indicated what it thinks about this matter.

12. The giving of military aid by the U.S. to Pakistan, in the peculiar circumstances of Indo-Pakistan conflicts, is a clear breach of neutrality by the U.S. The U.S., therefore, cannot be considered a neutral country in so far as any disputes between India and Pakistan are concerned. A natural consequence of this was that we should ask for the withdrawal of U.S. observers in Kashmir. We have done so.¹⁸ The Secretary-General of the U.N. has not given any firm answer yet but has advanced certain rather weak arguments against it.¹⁹ There is nothing in those arguments and we

18. On 1 March 1954.

19. To Nehru's demand for withdrawal of the U.S. observers from Kashmir, the Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, said on 10 March that the observers owed their allegiance to the U.N. and their conduct should be judged as U.N. officials irrespective of their nationality.

shall politely but firmly insist on the withdrawal of these observers

13. Other questions arise relating to American aid to India and the large numbers of U.S. citizens who are functioning in various technical and other capacities in India. There is no reason for us to act in this matter in a hurry or without full thought. But we must recognize that things cannot remain where they are. They must move in one direction or the other. We cannot permit facilities to any foreign element for propaganda or psychologically undermining of the position we have taken up. This is too serious a matter to be dealt with casually.

14. The reactions in the Middle Eastern countries and in Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia to the American aid to Pakistan have been to a large extent similar to those in India.²⁰ This, of course, does not mean that all these countries will naturally adopt the same attitude as India's. Their position is not always strong and there are rival forces at play. But there can be no doubt that there are large elements in these countries, and some even in Pakistan, who are opposed to this new form of economic and military intervention with a view to domination.

15. We have to remember always that it is not for us any anti-Pakistani problem as such and certainly it must not be allowed to take the shape of a communal anti-Muslim problem. We must point out that almost all the Muslim countries in the Middle East or South East Asia have expressed, in greater or lesser degree, dislike of this U.S. military aid to Pakistan. We must base our case on the larger political and Asian considerations, as well as those, of

²⁰ For instance, some members of the Burmese Parliament belonging to the Peoples Unity Party said on 5 March that "U S arms aid to Pakistan was an indirect threat to and pressure on the neutral policy of the Burmese Government" and denounced the "American interference in Asian affairs." Dr Tambunan, Deputy Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament, described the military alliance as "an unwise act on the part of Pakistan."

course, of our own freedom. Above all, we have to stress national solidarity and self-reliance. It may be that out of this trial we emerge stronger in the sense that we rely upon ourselves and forget for a while our petty internal differences. Our defence organization has to be kept up to the mark. We cannot compete in arms with Great Powers and it would be folly even to endeavour to do so. But it would be desirable for us to build up our second and third lines from the point of view of discipline and morale. That means strengthening our Territorials and our N C C, etc. All this requires careful thought and I shall not write to you much more about it at this stage.

16. The Governors' Conference that was held two weeks ago was a very interesting one and many important subjects were fully discussed. Probably you will get a note about it. One subject that led to a good deal of discussion was education. We have had plenty of trouble with students, the latest instance of this being in Calcutta. It does little good to blame people for it even though they might be blameworthy. We have to diagnose the malady and seek a cure. For my part, I am convinced that at the bottom level of education we must proceed much faster with the basic method. As for university education, which is perhaps giving more trouble now than any other, we had a note from Dr Radhakrishnan.²¹ With this note the Governors' Conference was very largely in agreement. I am enclosing a copy of this note²² as it might interest you. Teaching, at any level, depends ultimately on the quality of the teachers.

21 The note underlined the need for "consolidation and not expansion" in higher education and for improvement of the quality of education. It recommended opening of colleges specializing in applied sciences and technology and of occupational institutes. The note also emphasized the need to make the youth aware of the country's rich heritage and thus help "to break down the communal, linguistic and provincial differences." It also laid stress on making basic education the essential part of the curriculum in the rural areas.

22 Not printed.

15 March, 1954

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17. We also discussed how to expedite progress in Hindi. All were agreed that this was desirable. But it was pointed out pertinently that any attempt to push Hindi, especially in the South, might actually lead to greater obstruction. Indeed, this was taking place. Therefore, we should proceed with some tact and certainly not in an aggressive manner. The regional languages must always be given an important place and even English will have to have some place for some time to come.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
9 April, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

You will remember the resolution passed at the Kalyani session of the Congress on "A Call to the Nation"¹ That resolution was not just a party resolution, but drew the attention of the country as a whole to the grave situation that had developed, both internationally and internally, and pointed out the necessity and urgency of our meeting it in an effective and united way That call to the nation was generally welcomed, apart from any party, and there was a realization that we should make a great effort

2. Recent developments in the international field have brought home to our people even more the paramount importance of directing the country's energies and resources to the building up of the strength of the nation The hydrogen bomb has become the symbol of the extreme gravity of the situation in the world.² We intend to keep out of war, even if this might unfortunately descend upon this world. But we cannot escape the consequences of world conflict and only our own internal strength can save us then

3 In the Kalyani resolution, special reference was made to the raising of a development loan which would appeal to small investors We feel that the present is an opportune

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 See *ante*, p 490

2 On 1 and 26 March 1954, the United States carried out nuclear tests in Marshall Islands in the South Pacific Soon after the second test, the Japanese fishing crew reported radiation sickness On 5 April, Attlee, speaking in the House of Commons, attacked U S tests as posing a "grave danger to civilization "

moment for making a broad-based appeal to the country for the support of such a Government loan which will be specially meant for development. In view of the national emergency, I feel that the loan ought to be a national loan, intended to meet the requirements both of the Central and of the State Governments. In this matter there should be full co-operation between the Central Government and the State Governments and there is no question of any competition with them.

4. In consultation with the Reserve Bank of India, we have decided to issue a National Plan Loan on the 12th April, the lists for which will open for subscription on the 19th. The Finance Minister will intimate separately the amounts which would be available from the proceeds of the loan to the various States, which would otherwise have gone to the market this year.

5. Meanwhile, I write to request that you, your colleagues in your Cabinet and the Government of your State should give the widest publicity to the loan and assist in securing the maximum amount of subscriptions for it. We have to approach not merely the big investors, but even more so the people of small means. I have no doubt that, properly approached, there is a vast field in this direction for us to explore. Recent experience shows that where a person of small means is approached, he reacts enthusiastically. The measure of the success of the loan will be a measure of our self-reliance and of our determination to meet all contingencies.

6. Apart from getting subscriptions to the loan from a very large number of persons, there is another advantage in thus linking these numerous subscribers to the national plan and the development of the country. In this way, they become partners in this mighty undertaking and are likely then to take even more interest in it than they do now.

7. I need not suggest to you the various methods of approaching the public. You will, no doubt, give thought to this and devise your own procedure. Among these methods

should be the use of the A I R at suitable intervals. Public organizations should be approached to assist in this appeal. The point is that there should be a widespread and continuous appeal so as to make the entire population conscious of this effort.

8 You will no doubt address your District Magistrates and other officials and ask them to give the fullest publicity to this appeal for the loan.

9. I am enclosing³ separately an appeal to the nation, on my behalf, for this National Plan Loan. This may be given suitable publicity and sent to such organizations, officials and non-officials, as you think necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
14 April, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am again writing to you after almost a full month. Events and work crowd in upon us and it is a little difficult to keep pace with them. The result is that many things about which I would like to write to you have to be left out because, to some extent, they become out of date.

2. I want to write to you today, more especially, about the very grave international situation that has arisen. This is in relation to Indo-China. Behind all this, of course, is the dark and terrible shadow of the hydrogen bomb.

3. You must have seen my statement¹ on the hydrogen bomb which I made before Parliament. In this I made some proposals which were simple and perfectly feasible. All that I suggested was that experimental explosions of this bomb should stop and there should be a standstill agreement in so far as these experiments were concerned between the powers concerned, which were the U S A and the U.S.S R. I did not even suggest that the preparation or stockpiling of atomic or hydrogen bombs should cease. Further, I recommended that this matter should be considered by the disarmament commission.

4. My statement on the hydrogen bomb attracted a good deal of attention in many countries, chiefly because I gave expression to what innumerable people were feeling. The latest explosion of the hydrogen bomb at Bikini² suddenly disclosed that an immense and unascertainable power had

1 On 2 April 1954

2 On 26 March 1954

been unleashed. A number of poor Japanese fishermen who were fishing far away suffered, and no one quite knows what the extent of the damage done by eating radioactive fish might have been. But the real shock came when it was realized that this weapon was going beyond human control and even human comprehension. Suddenly people realized that a war in which these weapons were used would mean utter destruction for vast areas of the earth's surface. There could be no victor or defeated as in ordinary wars, only an almost universal ruin might be the result. The popular reaction to this was natural and, if I may say so healthy. But those who control this terrible engine of destruction evidently thought otherwise.

5. Soon after I had made my statement in Parliament on the hydrogen bomb, I received a brief and moving message from Sir Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.³ He expressed his very grave concern at these developments which threatened the world and said that we must do something to prevent the catastrophe which appeared to loom ahead. He said further that he would have liked to have consultation with the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries if this had been possible. I replied to him⁴ in suitable terms, drawing attention to the proposals I had made in regard to the hydrogen bomb. I added that I thought the situation was serious enough for us to consult each other.

6. The next day, Sir Winston Churchill spoke in the British House of Commons and I must say that his speech was a great disappointment.⁵ It did not fit in with the message he had sent me. Evidently, something had

3. On 4 April 1954.

4. On 4 April 1954.

5. On 5 April 1954, Churchill expressed his belief that the experiment had increased the chances of peace rather than those of war but said he would ask the U.S. Government to cease their experiments. As regards the bacteriological fall-out as a result of the experiments he thought the reports tended to be greatly exaggerated.

happened in those two days which made him change his mind or express himself differently. His speech was criticized even by the Conservative newspapers in England as a surrender to the American demand. It must be remembered that the United Kingdom is in special danger if war breaks out. A very few hydrogen bombs, it is calculated, would put almost an end to Great Britain. As England is now a base for atomic bombs, it is also an obvious target. Hence the reaction of the British people is easy to understand

7 I do not know why Sir Winston Churchill expressed himself in Parliament as he did, because this was not only not in tune with his previous message to me, but was unlike him. One can only assume that great pressure was brought to bear upon him by the U.S. Government. The U.S. Government apparently does not even consult its principal allies in important matters of policy and presents them with accomplished facts to which they have to agree, for the price of disagreement is a breach in the united front of the Western Powers. This has created a good deal of discontent in England and France, but, nevertheless, the Governments of these two countries fall in line with the U.S. after, no doubt, protesting in private.

8 This hydrogen bomb incident must be seen in the context of other developments. There is now what is called the "Dulles policy". Mr. Dulles and others in the United States have declared that if there is any aggression on the part of the Communist countries they will instantly and massively retaliate using atomic weapons and bombs. He has also stated, in connection with the Far East, that the U.S. would, in such a case, attack the mainland of China.⁶ It was rather odd for these threats to be held out just when

⁶ On 2 March 1954, Dulles declared that Communist domination of Indo-China and South East Asia "should not be passively accepted but should be met by united action with consequences which might not be confined to Indo-China."

preparations were being made to meet in conference in Geneva to consider the Korean and the Indo-China problem. Nothing very special had happened and the reasoning behind these terrible threats was not clear. There had been, it is true, some intensive fighting in Indo-China, where the Viet Minh forces were investing a fortress occupied by the French.⁷ But this kind of warfare had taken place in Indo-China for several years with its ups and downs. It would appear that it was not so much the developments in Indo-China that made Mr. Dulles issue his threats, but rather the development of Mr. Dulles' policy.

9. Later Mr. Dulles stated⁸ that Chinese intervention in Indo-China had come very near the borderline. The instances he gave were that there was some Chinese senior military officer advising the Viet Minh troops and anti-aircraft guns had been supplied by the Chinese. This may or may not be true. But even if it is true, it could hardly be termed as any major intervention. On the other hand, it is well known that the United States are giving massive help in the shape of bombing aircraft and military weapons and supplies to the French.⁹

10. To say, as Mr. Dulles did, that the Chinese were very near the borderline of aggression in Indo-China meant that we might be very near the massive retaliation which Mr. Dulles promised in case of aggression. That made the situation a very grave one.

11. The next step that Mr. Dulles has taken is to induce other countries, notably the United Kingdom and France, to join the United States in declaring what is called a collective defence to ensure peace, security and freedom of South East Asia and the Western Pacific. This means, in the present context, that all the countries joining in would help the

7 Viet Minh forces launched on 13 March 1954 a major attack on Dien Bien Phu. Heavy fighting continued throughout March and April.

8 On 5 April 1954

9 See *ante*, p. 420

French in Indo-China against the Viet Minh. As I write, a statement has been issued which indicates that Mr. Dulles has met with a good deal of success in his endeavour and these countries have stated that they are ready to take part in this system of collective defence.¹⁰ They have added, however, that they will wait for the Geneva Conference in the hope that this might lead to a restoration of peace in Indo-China.

12 The conference at Geneva will be held in less than two weeks' time.¹¹ Only the incurable optimist can expect any good to come out of it because everything has been done to make it infructuous. There is no atmosphere of peace or negotiation. One is led to imagine that a special effort has been made in order that the Geneva Conference might fail and then this collective defence scheme for South East Asia might come into effect. In other words, far from looking forward to a step towards some kind of a settlement or even to an easing of tension, we have to face continuous and increased tension with the prospect of a much worse development at any time. I do not know what the attitude of the Soviet Union or of China might be. But it is a little difficult to imagine that they will go to this Geneva Conference merely to sign on the dotted line.

13 The situation in Indo-China and the new turn that American policy has taken is a matter of far-reaching importance. In fact, the U.S. have taken what might well be described as a fateful decision which offers two alternatives. One is that the Soviet Union and China should climb down completely and practically surrender in so far as several important matters are concerned; the other is an inevitable and rapid drift to a major conflict. As it is unlikely that the

¹⁰ A communique issued simultaneously from London and Washington on 13 April 1954 stated that Britain, United States, France, Australia, New Zealand and Thailand and other interested countries were examining the feasibility of collective defence arrangements for South East Asia and the Western Pacific.

¹¹ The conference opened on 26 April 1954.

Soviet Union and China will, in effect, surrender, the chances of the other increase. Thus, the decision of the U.S. taken recently is in effect to force the issue both militarily and politically in Indo-China. Indo-China is chosen, not only because it is considered important but also in order to set an example which might apply to other problems.

14 All this might be seen in the larger context of American policy in Pakistan and in Western Asia, as well as in the rest of the world, excluding the Communist countries. Probably the United States believe that this policy of all-out force and threats will succeed without precipitating a large-scale war. In any event, it is a big and dangerous gamble. This affects the entire world but, more particularly, Asia. Asia has been and will continue to be the scene of hydrogen bomb experiments and of war in which Asians are made to fight Asians. It may be that it will be Asians again who will have the unfortunate privilege of experiencing the effects of atomic bombing. Meanwhile, extreme pressure will no doubt be exercised in various Asian countries just as it is being exercised in some European ones. Thailand, the Philippines, Formosa and South Korea are, of course, lined up already. Pakistan has joined this group. The countries of Western Asia are experiencing these pressure tactics. No doubt, some of the countries in South East Asia will have a like experience. All this affects India. India presumably is supposed some time or other to fall into line under heavy pressure or to be isolated.

15. There is another aspect of this question. The United States is now definitely trying to function as world leader. At any rate, it regards itself as such and any country that does not fall in line with her policy meets with her displeasure. The idea of the old Monroe Doctrine¹² is now extended to

12 The U.S. President, James Monroe, in a message to the U.S. Congress on 2 December 1823, had declared that the American continents were no longer open for colonization by the European powers and that the U.S. would view with displeasure any violation of this policy. This statement came to be known as the Monroe doctrine.

cover the entire world except the Communist countries. Also, it is interesting to note that the justification for intervention in Indo-China is said to be the fact that the lawful and friendly Government of Vietnam is attacked by Viet Minh, the lawful Government in Vietnam being the French colonial Government, whatever other form it may take. Therefore, colonialism has to be protected because it is lawful and recognized. This reminds one of the Holy Alliance in 19th Century Europe which was meant to protect all the old kings and feudal regimes. All this is done in the name of assuring peace, security and freedom.

16 I have written at some length about this subject, because I would like you to appreciate the crisis that has come upon the world and which may well have serious consequences for us in India. All this necessitates hard thinking and united action by us and putting aside all our petty conflicts and differences of opinion. It is manifest that we in India are not going to barter away our freedom or our independence of action under any pressure or threats. I might mention that we were asked recently by the U.S. Government for permission to send a large number of transport aircraft carrying troops to Indo-China. We could not possibly permit this as we had not permitted the French during past years to send their troops across or over India. I understand that the Government of Burma has also refused permission. I presume they will now be sent around *via* Colombo.

17 Soon there will be the meeting at Geneva, which has even less chances of success now than before. Much will depend upon the Soviet attitude, but the issue is a grave one, because Mr. Dulles appears to be a determined man and he has got both the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb.

18 You must have been following the course of events in Pondicherry and the other French settlements in India. This

is a completely spontaneous movement¹³ Naturally we sympathize with it, but we have tried to observe international decorum and have left the door open for peaceful negotiations with France. If all existing Governments are supposed to be lawful and therefore entitled to continue as such, as in the case of Vietnam, then it may well be said that this argument can apply to the French and Portuguese settlements in India. Probably the U.S. Government will not go thus far, but the policy they are pursuing in other parts of the world would be on a line with this.

19 I shall be going to Colombo on the 27th of this month. Some of these matters will, no doubt, come up for discussion there. It is difficult to imagine that all the Prime Ministers there will come to any kind of an agreement, because Pakistan at least is fully tied up with U.S. policy and much pressure has been exercised on the other countries.

20 Since I wrote to you last, much has happened in India. In Travancore-Cochin, a P.S.P. Government, under Shri Pattom Thanu Pillai,¹⁴ has been formed¹⁵ and is functioning. The Congress Party there, which is the biggest single party, is supporting this Government from outside. In Madras, Shri Rajagopalachari¹⁶ resigned owing to ill health and Shri Kamaraj Nadar¹⁷ has just formed a Government¹⁸ which consists largely of Ministers from Rajaji's

13 A non-violent mass movement in support of union with India was launched on 27 March 1954 by the French India Socialist Party with the support of other political parties. The movement continued to grow in strength and popularity.

14 (1886-1970) Chief Minister of Travancore, 1948, Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, 1954, Chief Minister of Kerala, 1960-62, Governor of Punjab, 1962-64 and Andhra Pradesh, 1964-68.

15 Pillai was sworn in as Chief Minister on 16 March 1954.

16 For b fn Vol 1, p 141. He resigned on 8 April 1954.

17 K. Kamaraj Nadar (1908-1975) Congressman from Tamil Nadu, President, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, 1940-54, Chief Minister of Madras, 1954-63, President, Indian National Congress, 1963-67.

18 He was sworn in on 15 April 1954.

14 April, 1954

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Cabinet Shri Rajagopalachari undertook the burden of the Chief Ministership of Madras State at a critical and difficult moment when he was well entitled to rest. He brought about a great change in the State and Madras and India must be grateful to him for his great services. His record of service in India is unique. Although he has retired and has rightly deserved his retirement and rest, we all hope that he will be available to guide and advise us in the difficult days ahead.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
23 April, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

I should like to draw your particular attention to the programme and activities of the Central Social Welfare Board. This Board is undertaking three hundred welfare extension projects to be executed by the existing voluntary welfare organizations all over the country. I am not writing in detail about this because you will no doubt have full particulars about them from the Chairman of the Board, Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh.¹

2 This attempt that we are making to encourage social welfare activities is, in a sense, rather unique. It is not some central authority that is doing it all by itself, nor does the burden of this fall on the local social welfare organizations. It is a certain combination of the two, where the Central Board comes in as a helper and adviser and, at the same time, the local welfare organizations, who are best suited for it, undertake the work. In this way we can utilize the energy, enthusiasm and initiative of vast numbers of persons all over the country. Three hundred organizations will be selected by the Board after a careful consideration. In choosing areas and the manner of execution, the State Governments will naturally be consulted.

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1 (1909-1981) Took active part in national movement, member, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-50, member, Planning Commission, 1950-54, Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board, 1952-62

23 April, 1954

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3 It is important that the States should constitute their State Social Welfare Advisory Boards to supervise this work and to be a link with the Central Board. It is suggested that these State Social Welfare Advisory Boards should not exceed nine members. Four of these might be nominated by the Central Board and four by the State, the Chairman to be nominated by the State Government in consultation with the Chairman of the Central Board.

4 With the formation of the State Boards, there will be more decentralization in regard to social welfare work and that will be a desirable development.

5 There is in India not only a great reservoir of people desiring to do social work but there are quite a large number of organizations which have carried on this work effectively and efficiently. There are many trained persons in social work. Indeed, it surprises me that anyone should think of sending our people to Europe or America to learn social work. I am entirely opposed to this. If we have to do social work in India, we have to learn it in the environment of India and not in some entirely different country. We have thus not only a large field to work in but good material. The present attempt is to organize this material to the best advantage and to give it assistance. I am sure that you and your Government will welcome this and give it every co-operation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi,
26 April, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you on the eve of my departure for Colombo I expect to be away for about a week This Colombo Conference has received a good deal of publicity and, for a variety of reasons, probably unthought of by its sponsor, it has become important in the world's eyes It is true that such a gathering of some Prime Ministers of Southern Asia can do a lot of good, more especially at the present moment when conflict rages in a part of Asia and further dangers lie ahead, which imperil freedom. But a constructive attitude would require a common approach to our present-day problems How far that approach will be evident in Colombo is not easy to say now. There are obvious differences of opinion, on basic international matters, between India and Pakistan We may not discuss the United States military aid to Pakistan there, but we must inevitably discuss the broader aspects of the United States policy in Asia and, in this context, the military aid to Pakistan has to come in somewhere, as an illustration, if nothing else. One should have thought that in these major problems affecting Asian countries, there should be a common approach, even though the emphasis may vary. I believe that, on the whole, there is that common approach in so far as India and Burma are concerned and, to a considerable extent, Indonesia also Ceylon is rather new to these international problems and has really not faced them or given much thought to them. It has lived an isolated existence thus far, interested chiefly in its own changing economy and in world prices of rubber and tea, etc., and in the problem of people of Indian descent For the rest, it has been largely tied up with the United Kingdom and has not

changed materially since it became independent, though the outer symbols and trappings have changed. Because of its practical isolation in this way, local problems, like that of the people of Indian descent, loom large. Behind this is a certain fear of the great land of India somehow overwhelming Ceylon, not by military might but by very numbers. Hence the excessive importance they attach to limiting people of Indian descent or Indian sympathies. They have, of course, also the problem of growing unemployment, and there again there is this fear of non-Ceylonese taking a growing share of the employment.

2 We appreciate these natural reactions of the Ceylonese and allow for them in our dealings with Ceylon. We have no desire to overwhelm Ceylon by numbers or in any other way. It will make little difference to India as a whole whether a few hundred thousand persons more or less are absorbed in Ceylon. It would, of course, make a difference to those persons who will suffer if they are not treated properly and it is a matter of our self-respect too. But, we have always to remember this fear of the Ceylonese. Any so-called pressure tactics on our part tend to increase this fear, and, therefore, make the solution a little more difficult. They begin to look away from India in matters of trade, etc., and rely on some distant country like England or, it may be, even Australia rather than India. And yet, every interest of theirs, including their basic cultural outlook, draws them to India, if but this fear was absent. Hence it is necessary for us not to say or do anything which adds to this fear complex.

3. Unfortunately, certain politicians and some groups in Ceylon neither speak nor act wisely and repeatedly come in the way of a friendly settlement. Even the last Indo-Ceylonese Agreement¹ has had some rough treatment in

¹ See *ante*, p 499

Ceylon.² and I am not at all sure how far it will be carried out. It is not so much what is being done in Ceylon in regard to it but the manner of doing it and the spirit behind it all that has troubled me and that has irritated greatly the large numbers of people of Indian descent there. If these people lose all hope of fair treatment in Ceylon, then they may well take to wrong courses. They will suffer no doubt if they do that, but they can give a great deal of trouble to the Government of Ceylon. Because of this, apart from larger reasons, the only wise course for the Government of Ceylon is to come to reasonable terms with them and with us.

4. In spite of these political difficulties, there is little doubt that the mass of the people of Ceylon look more and more towards India, much more so than any other country. Even in the larger political field, there is probably more appreciation of India's viewpoint than the policy of the Government of Ceylon might indicate.

5. The Colombo Conference is meeting at a critical stage. A few thousand miles away, the Geneva Conference is meeting with all the modern fanfare of publicity. Vast numbers of delegates with their camp-followers have gathered in Geneva. Every national delegation there consists of hundreds of persons and probably members of the press have gathered in equal numbers. The city of Geneva, important as it is, is not a big city, and this vast crowd must tax it to the utmost.

6. 'Two days ago, I made a statement in the House of the

2. On 7 March 1954, the Sri Lankan Government asked 62 Indian workers employed at Ratmalana airport to register themselves as Indian nationals if they wished to retain their jobs. India took strong exception to this because the workers had been refused registration as Sri Lankan citizens to which they were entitled under the new agreement and also the demand had been made without prior consultation with the Government of India.

People on Indo-China ³ You have no doubt seen this. It was after a great deal of thought that I made this statement and the proposals contained in it. There is nothing remarkable about those proposals, and yet to some people they might seem an odd and even a brave approach. The fact is that the international atmosphere has become so vitiated by loud shouting and threats and sabre-rattling that the simplest and most obvious courses surprise one. All that I have suggested is really very simple and I think very obvious, though it does not fit in with the atmosphere of passionate denunciation of each other that is so common now.

7 I ended my statement by quoting from some words of the Pope. I shall repeat them here for they bring out vividly our present-day international predicament. "Peace", he says, "cannot consist in an exasperating and costly relationship of mutual terror." That is how we live today in mutual terror, which is both exasperating and costly, and which cannot possibly lead to peace. I have ventured to point out in my statement, in as restrained a manner as possible, that this approach of threat and denunciation and ultimatum must be given up. I am not vain or optimistic enough to imagine that what I have said will produce a marked effect. But I have no doubt that vast numbers of people in the world will respond to it in the proper spirit and, it may be that public opinion does sometimes make a difference even in international affairs. In any event, it is for us to try with humility and firmness, we cannot guarantee results. It is enough for us if we can get out of this mental climate of fear and terror. When we talk of a peace area, we refer to many things, but essentially what I mean is an area free from this reign of fear and its progeny.

³ In his statement on 24 April 1954, Nehru suggested that the question of ceasefire should be given priority in the agenda for the conference and France, her three associated states, and Viet Minh should agree to a ceasefire. He urged that the conference should commit France to grant complete independence to Indo-China and the big powers should guarantee non-intervention in the East Asian situation.

8 You will have seen the violent outbursts in America caused by our refusal to permit American aircraft carrying French troops from flying across India ⁴ This has angered many of the Senators and others in the United States And yet, we have laid down no new policy. For the last five or six years, we have consistently followed the policy of not allowing any troops or war materials to cross India by air or otherwise This is applied to the French going to Indo-China and to the British going to Malaya Having repeatedly refused permission to the French in past years, we could not possibly allow American aircraft to do this In war, that would be a definite breach of neutrality In the present state of partial shooting war and partial cold war, that would be equally bad, if not worse from the point of view of our oft-repeated policy And yet, this simple fact has not been even understood by these worthy American Senators who are enveloped by fear and hatred of what they call the Communist menace To them everything must be subordinated to the one end of America leading a crusade against every country which is actually or potentially likely to come under Communist control Even if that objective was considered justifiable, the methods employed appear to me to produce a contrary result When this contrary result becomes apparent anywhere, there is great irritation in the United States as if the fault lay with other people and not with the policy they were pursuing It is astonishing how unwise and short-sighted American policy has been and continues to be, and how more and more it relies on sheer force and the might of the hydrogen bomb It is forgotten that in spite of the hydrogen bomb, human beings still count

4 For example, *New York Times* on 25 April 1954 wrote that Nehru should be reminded that "the real road to freedom in Indo-China does not lie through Communist conquest, and a friendlier attitude on his part to these weak and young states that are trying with French help to defend themselves would be most helpful "

9 The Communist world also relies on force and the hydrogen bomb, but it is a little wiser in its approach. It does not forget how human beings react and takes full advantage of the passionate dislike in Asia and Africa of colonialism and racialism. Also, I believe, that neither the Soviet Union nor China desire a war. They may have more insidious methods of approach, but those methods cannot be countered by war but by other means

10 We have come to the stage when the forces and machines of war are more or less evenly balanced between these two rival blocs and neither can imagine that it can overwhelm the other. Therefore, from the strictly practical point of view, the choice is between a war which destroys utterly and something that leads to the attainment of the objective aimed at and in some way averts war, which means some kind of mutual adjustment of the present-day world based on live and let live. There is no other way. Between these rival giants and their loud trumpeting, there is the small and perhaps feeble voice of India. Because perhaps that voice represents some reason, some hope of escape from the awful dilemma of our times, it finds an appreciative audience in many countries. It might have been easier for us to remain silent and even try to close our ears to the drums of war. But even that is not possible. We are dragged into the fray, whether we wish it or not. The U S military aid to Pakistan affects us and we have to say something and say it clearly and definitely. American aircraft want to carry troops across India. If we permit this, immediately our policy of non-alignment goes to pieces. So at every step we have to take a decision and to announce it, and merely remaining quiet does not lead to our escaping the consequences of what is happening. It is a trial and test for us to maintain a calm and dispassionate outlook and not to be swept away by any pressure or by an angry reaction to something that has happened. At the same time, to work hard to build up our own country and our own strength, both physical, psychological and moral.

11. I have referred above to the angry reaction of some

American Senators. This was on the occasion of a proposal to give technical aid to India.⁵ I must confess to you that I have been much worried over this matter of accepting or not accepting financial aid from America. All my self-respect is hurt at the taunts thrown out at us that, while we object to military aid being given to Pakistan, we are prepared to take other kinds of aid from the United States. Of course, there is a great deal of difference between military aid and aid for developmental purposes, which every country accepts in a degree. And yet, there is a germ of truth in that taunt. My own reaction would be to decline with all politeness all such aid, even though that might put us in some difficulty. I believe that the real growth of a country can only take place through inner strength and self-reliance. Anything that might lessen that feeling of self-reliance, weakens the country. It is through a measure of hardship, austerity and struggle that a people go ahead. That is how we made good in our struggle for freedom, and that is how we are likely to make good in the economic struggles before us.

12. Though my entire inclination therefore is not to encourage this economic aid from the United States, I have felt that for us to take any such positive step at this stage would itself be an irritating factor adding to the ill will between India and the United States. And so, we have preferred to remain quiet about it and to await developments. These developments progressively make it more difficult for the aid to come or for us to accept it. Anyhow, we shall await events. But in regard to one matter, I am clear in my mind. We should discourage large numbers of people coming here from the United States or going to the United States from India under various schemes like the leadership programme, etc. It is not desirable for us to send our students

⁵ On 24 April 1954, Senator Styles Bridges stated that in view of Nehru's refusal to permit U.S. planes to fly over Indian territory and the Senate Committee's criticism of "aid for India" programme of \$ 186 million a "close review" would have to be made of any future programme

or others to the United States for training, except for some very specialized courses. The atmosphere of the United States is not suited for this purpose and then the environment there is completely different from ours. Because part of the cost is met by some fund or other in the United States, we think that we are getting something on the cheap. That is not so and I think we should avoid this in future.

13. As I write to you, news comes to me that the office of our Commissioner at Nairobi in East Africa was suddenly raided by British troops and some of the assistant members of our staff were beaten and our papers thrown about.⁶ All our African staff were arrested and taken away. This is apparently a part of what is called a great drive against Mau Mau. You will appreciate the great seriousness of this. Indeed the acting Governor⁷ subsequently offered his "most humble apologies" and ordered an immediate enquiry. He promised that those found guilty would be suitably punished. The Commander-in-Chief⁸ called also at our Commissioner's office to offer his apologies. We are taking suitable action in this matter in London and in Delhi. This incident indicates how the colonial Government in Kenya is functioning. If this can be done to our representative's office and to our staff, it can well be imagined what others who have no such privileges have to put up with and, as for Africans of high and low degree, presumably everyone of them is treated as the worst of criminals. One might say that the whole population is dealt with as in a hostile enemy country and indeed in a worse way. Everybody is screened by the military in their rough and ready way, very few understanding the language even. This is the phase of colonialism and racialism that we see. We are asked to forget these matters and to join in the great crusade against communism by giving our moral sympathy and physical support to the

6 On 24 April 1954

7 Sir Frederick Crawford (1906-1978)

8 General Sir George W E J Erskine (1899-1978)

French colonial regime in Indo-China and, possibly, at the same time to Chiang Kai-shek and Dr. Syngman Rhee. It is difficult for me to understand how people in Europe and America cannot appreciate our feelings in such matters and how they can imagine that they can dragoon us in following policies which we dislike utterly.

14 We are seeing also French colonialism functioning at Pondicherry. There have been brutal assaults on the people there. However, there has been a development in regard to these French establishments which holds out some promise. The Prime Minister of France has written to me⁹ a friendly letter suggesting negotiations. I have replied¹⁰ in an equally friendly manner and welcomed direct negotiations between the Government of India and the Government of France in regard to these settlements. Neither of us had made any commitments in these letters. But our position is well known. It has seemed to me that the French Government has at last realized that they cannot carry on as they have done. The second realization may soon follow that the only way open is to transfer these settlements to India. But naturally the French Government and people do not wish to be humiliated and we have no desire to do that. Therefore, we shall deal with them in as friendly a way as possible, holding to our views.

15. Because of the developments in Pondicherry and for other reasons also, the situation in Goa is undergoing a change. But that is a more difficult problem than that of Pondicherry and we shall have to deal with it a little later. Meanwhile, we have made it perfectly clear to all parties concerned that we will not permit the soil of Goa to be used

9 On 20 April 1954 Nehru told the Congress Parliamentary Party on 23 April 1954 that Laniel had made no commitments with regard to French settlements in India, but had shown a "friendly approach."

10 On 24 April 1954

by any foreign power as a base or for other military purposes.¹¹

16. The situation in Pakistan continues to be exceedingly fluid and uncertain. The elections in East Bengal have created a situation which, in a sense, is revolutionary.¹² Mr. Fazlul Huq¹³ and Mr. Suhrawardy¹⁴ are two prominent leaders of East Bengal and they have considerable influence. But what has happened in East Bengal is something much more than perhaps these leaders themselves imagined. A younger, more advanced and more leftist element has come to the front and will undoubtedly want to have its way. This new element is not communal at all. Politically it has taken up a strong line against the U.S. aid to Pakistan. It is intensely Bengali. You may be interested to know of what some of them said the other day. Referring to the Bengalis of West Bengal, they said that "You people are becoming Hindiwalas now. We are the real Bengalis and therefore give us Tagore whom we will appreciate more than you will." This was said in a spirit of banter. But it shows this intense Bengali feeling that pervades East Bengal.

11. Nehru, referring in the Lok Sabha on 15 April 1954 to reports about the construction of an aerodrome in Goa, warned that the use of these enclaves as bases "will meet its opposition from us."

12. The elections held between 8 and 11 March 1954 resulted in an overwhelming victory for the United Front, an alliance of the opposition parties, which secured 223 of the 237 seats reserved for Muslims and 10 of the 72 seats for the minorities. The United Front's programme envisaged the recognition of Bengali along with Urdu as an official language, rejection of the draft Constitution, dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and its replacement by a directly elected body, and complete autonomy for East Pakistan in all matters except defence, foreign affairs and currency.

13. A. K. Fazlul Huq (1873-1962) Member, Bengal Council, 1913-34, and Central Assembly, 1934-36, Prime Minister of Bengal, 1937-41; headed the United Front Ministry in East Pakistan, 1954; a Central Minister in Pakistan, August 1955 to March 1956, Governor of East Pakistan, 1956-58.

14. H. S. Suhrawardy (1893-1963) Chief Minister of the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal, 1946-47; founder of the Awami League in Pakistan, 1949, Prime Minister of Pakistan, 1956-57.

17. The demand of East Bengal is for the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to be dissolved and for the Central Government to be changed ¹⁵ Both these have thus far been rejected by the Pakistan Government. But I do not see how the Pakistan Government can continue to function as it is in the face of these demands. The only basic strength that the Pakistan Government has is that of the defence forces which mainly represent West Pakistan. It is hardly likely however that the army will be utilized against East Bengal.

18. Meanwhile in West Pakistan, in the Muslim League as well as the Constituent Assembly, a battle royal is raging on the language issue, Urdu alone or Urdu and Bengali ¹⁶ It would appear that East Bengal and West Pakistan are in headlong conflict over this issue. Even the old East Bengal representatives in the Constituent Assembly stand firmly for Bengali.

19. King Saud ¹⁷ of Arabia has been visiting Pakistan ¹⁸ He was to have gone to East Bengal also, but this visit did not come off, no doubt because the Pakistan Government did not like the shape of things in East Bengal. The King made it known to our representative in Karachi that his visit to Pakistan was concerned with getting Pakistan's aid against Israel. He is not interested in other matters.

¹⁵ This was demanded by H S Suhrawardy on 31 March 1954. On 4 April 1954, Dacca observed a protest day and demanded the "immediate dissolution of this unrepresentative and reactionary Constituent Assembly" and its replacement by a body elected on the basis of adult franchise.

¹⁶ The decision of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party on 20 April 1954 that Bengali and Urdu would be the official languages of Pakistan led to widespread anti-Bengali demonstrations in Karachi on 22-23 April 1954. Several pro-Urdu newspapers were published with black borders.

¹⁷ Abdul-Aziz Saud (b 1902) Son of Ibn Saud. In 1953, became Foreign Minister and Minister of Defence, and the same year, following his father's death, ascended the throne. He was deposed by Faisal in 1964.

¹⁸ He visited for 10 days from 20 April 1954.

20 The conflict between Israel and the Arab countries is becoming more intense and acute. The Arab countries are definitely afraid of Israel's better-equipped army and other resources. For the moment there appears no way pointing to a settlement of this old dispute.

21. I have written to you previously about a matter which has troubled me greatly and continues to exercise my mind. This is the question of minorities in India. I asked you once to find out the figures of recruitment of these minorities to our Services. The figures I received were unsatisfactory. Our Constitution is very good and our laws and rules and regulations are also fair. But the fact remains that in practice some of our minorities, and notably Muslims, suffer from a deep sense of frustration. They feel that the Services are not really open to them in any marked degree, whether defence, police or civil. In business, the evacuee property laws, which unfortunately continue even though they are not applied frequently, bear down upon them and restrict their opportunities. In elections to our Assemblies and Parliament, it is not easy for Muslims to come in. Even in our public organizations, it is becoming increasingly difficult for proper Muslim representation. I know this is so in the Congress. It is easy for anyone to become a primary member of the Congress, but when it comes to any elective post, a Muslim is at a disadvantage and there are no reservations now anywhere. I imagine that this applies to other political and like organizations also. It is not that there is any anti-Muslim feeling as such, though sometimes even this is present. It is more the recrudescence of local and caste feelings.

22 This is very much so in so far as Muslims are concerned. To a slight extent this is so in regard to Christians also, apart from some southern regions like Travancore-Cochin state. Looking at these questions not from a party point of view but an all-India viewpoint, this is a very bad development, and we shall have to give serious thought to it because it may well lead to most unfortunate consequences.

It is no good our criticizing the minority communities and telling them that they do not behave. It is always the duty and obligation of the majority to win the goodwill of the minorities by fair and even generous treatment. I fear that very often the majority community in India not only forgets the minorities but acts in a narrow-minded way, not realizing the far-reaching consequences of this. The whole structure of India and the process of emotional integration, which is so important, will be badly affected if we do not deal with this situation quickly and with vision and vigour. Even some of our old valiant Muslim stalwarts of our freedom struggle find themselves today pushed out and with no effective voice.

23 We must never forget that we take pride in having a secular State. That brings its duties and responsibilities and obligations which apply far more to the majority than to the minority groups. But apart from theory and the rightness of a particular policy, the practical consequences of any other policy are of grave importance, for any other policy would inevitably lead to the encouragement of disruptive tendencies. I do not wish to exaggerate this matter and I do not think it has gone deep yet. But the mere presence of these tendencies is dangerous. What troubles me most is the way most of us do not attach much importance to this. The first thing to do is to realize the importance of this question and to set about thinking how to deal with it in all aspects of public and other activities. We play an increasingly greater role in world affairs and our voice is respected. But, after all, the strength of our position and the respect that it commands outside India will depend on what we do within our country.

24 You must have seen the four important resolutions that the Congress Working Committee passed some time ago.¹⁹

19 The resolution adopted on 4-5 April 1954 related to reorganization of States, examinations for All India Services, question of language and medium of instruction in schools and colleges and prohibition.

Among these resolutions was one on the language issue which dealt fully with various aspects of it.²⁰ This again is important from the point of view of integrating India. Also from the point of view of the minorities, whoever they may be. One reason for a sense of frustration among the Muslims is the growing belief that Urdu has little place in India now. I do not wish to go into the merits of the question, though the merits are strong in favour of Urdu and Urdu is not Muslim language but an Indian language. But, apart from merits, the psychological result is important

25 Then there is the resolution on the redistribution of provinces. You will notice that we have given the largest freedom of expression of opinion but we must maintain some discipline about it and some objective thinking. This is a dangerous subject which will lead to disruption if we are not careful.

26. A week ago, Dr. Satyapal,²¹ the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, suddenly died of heart failure. The present generation has almost forgotten the stirring episodes of 35 years ago, which shook India and heralded the coming of Gandhiji into the political arena and the mighty movements that followed. Satyapal and Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew²² were the

²⁰ The resolution stated that Hindi should be made a compulsory subject at various stages in schools and colleges. At the primary stage, the instruction should be given in the mother tongue of the child and at the secondary and the university stages, the primary language should be the regional language with Hindi as a compulsory second language. It also approved the programme of replacing English by Hindi in stages over a period of 15 years.

²¹ (1885-1954) Congressman from Punjab, played a prominent role in Rowlatt Act agitation, Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, 1952-54.

²² (1888-1963) Played a prominent role in the nationalist movement in Punjab.

outstanding names in April 1919 in Amritsar, the Punjab, and later in India. It was their arrest that led to the Jallianwala Bagh killings and martial law in the Punjab. Dr Satyapal's name is thus a part of India's history.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 May, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you as our present session of Parliament is ending. This has been a long and heavy session and all Members of Parliament, including the Ministers, of course, deserve a respite. The next session of Parliament is likely to meet in the third week of August. We shall thus have a fairly long interval of about three months. I hope that this will enable us to deal with many important matters which require thought and discussion. The day to day work of Parliament gives little chance for any leisurely thinking or discussion. Events succeed each other from day to day and it is difficult to keep pace with them.

2 In particular, I hope that we will give thoughts to two matters—the reform of administrative procedures and the future of planning and the second Five Year Plan. Both these are subjects which cannot be dealt with in a hurry and which require careful consideration. Yesterday I made a statement in the Council of States giving some indication of what we were doing in regard to reform in administrative procedures.¹ This is, of course, an old story and not only the Central Government but all the State Governments have been dealing with this for years past. Some progress has also been made. Mr. Appleby's report rather shook us up and some further progress was made as a result of our consi-

¹ Nehru said that his note of 17 January about review of civil service rules envisaged delegation of more financial powers to ministers and other administrative heads to facilitate expeditious implementation of the five year plan and various other projects

dering it During the last few months, we have been carrying on a number of enquiries, from different points of view, into this matter of administrative procedure We have collected a good deal of material which, I am sure, will help us in dealing with this problem effectively During the next month I propose to give some time to the study of this material and in July I hope that we shall come to grips with it as a Government It might interest you to learn that even while these enquiries are progressing, we have profited by them and there has been a tightening up of our procedure in many respects There is less delay and more a sense of urgency.

3 The second Five Year Plan is, of course, of paramount importance for us The importance lies not only in the actual work to be undertaken, but in our entire approach to it I think that it can be said with confidence that the reaction of the people all over the country is eminently satisfactory, wherever good work is done In particular, the community projects and the national extension service appear to be doing well.

4. The community projects administration started in April 1952 and had to be built up from scratch There was some suspicion to begin with about this programme and many complained that it was much too official Gradually the underlying meaning of these community projects, and later the national extension service, was understood by the people and their suspicions were dispelled Credit for this is due to large numbers of people, but, in the final analysis, it is due to the village workers The success of this scheme depends ultimately on those village workers even more than on those at the top. It is thus important that these village workers should be carefully selected and given adequate training The Director of the community projects administration,

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Shri S.K. Dey,² has been the moving spirit and a dynamo in action. This programme, including the national extension service, now covers, in some way or other, about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of India's population. By the end of this year, it is expected to cover nearly $\frac{1}{5}$ th, that is between 50 million and 60 million people. This itself gives some idea of the magnitude of this undertaking and the way it is moving forward. Indeed, it may be said to have developed a certain momentum of its own. The question is how to give it right direction and how to keep up quality.

5. Training schools are now in operation for the training of

- (1) gram sevaks (village-level workers);
- (2) social education organisers;
- (3) health personnel in the extension service; and
- (4) block development officers in extension service and administration.

More centres are going to be established to train women workers, village blacksmiths and carpenters, school teachers for rural work and village leaders

6 It is clear that the real problem before us is not so much that of money, but of trained personnel. We have a fair number of highly trained people—good engineers, good doctors and specialists in other fields, but we lack terribly men in the middle stages, that is, overseers, teachers, mechanics, agricultural graduates, trained personnel for animal husbandry, and, of course, administrative personnel on a big scale. We have thought too much of schemes, big and small, in terms of money and possibly equipment, but have not paid much attention to the most important factor of all, that is, trained personnel. Much of this training takes

² (b 1906) Engineer by training; organized relief and rehabilitation in new refugee townships, 1947-52, Administrator, Community Development Projects, 1952-56, Minister for Community Development, 1956-58, for Community Development, Panchayati Raj and Co-operation, 1959-65, and for Mines and Metals, 1966-67

three years or more. If we do not set about it immediately, then all our schemes will be held up for lack of such people. Therefore, every State has to think hard about such training of these middle stages and set up centres for it. It is obviously not possible for the Central Government to provide overseers, mechanics and the like in large numbers. They have to be trained in the States. Every State should, therefore, think out and forecast future requirements of every kind of trained personnel and make immediate provision for such training.

7. The community projects programme has suffered considerably from the shortage of imported equipment which was expected to come here from the U.S.A. It is hoped that a good part of it will reach us soon. As regards expenditure, it was pointed out previously that much of the money sanctioned and allotted for these projects had not been spent. Much progress has been made now in this respect and it is expected that a large proportion of the total allotments upto now will be spent.

8. Thus, this community and extension programme has passed its early teething stage and is in full movement. The tempo of work is increasing. We have to keep up this tempo as well as the quality of the work. We begin now the second phase on the foundations we have already built. Most States have done well. The exceptions appear to be Andhra, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Mysore, Delhi, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh. Both Andhra and Madras have suffered from the changes due to the partition and the setting up of new administrations. Among the good States in this respect are Bihar, Bombay, Orissa, Punjab, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Pepsu, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Bhopal and Himachal Pradesh.

9. I have often expressed a dislike of the stream of people who are being sent abroad for special training. Hundreds and thousands go to other countries, chiefly the United States of America, under various schemes. I have no doubt that some people should go for special training. But I am

more and more convinced that we should try to learn from what is being done in India. Foreign training is good in specialized subjects, but it is given in an entirely different environment and the person who comes back is often frustrated at the conditions he finds in India. What we want, above all, today is a vast number of people trained for the middle stages of work and we must devise some methods of doing so. Even from the point of view of understanding India and being in tune with it and seeing what is being done in the country today, it is far more desirable for our people to travel about India than to visit foreign countries. It is unfortunate that the lure of visiting foreign countries still draws a very large number of our people, who do not seem to realize what their own country is and how much there is in it to see and learn from.

10 I have begun this letter with some of our domestic problems for two reasons. Firstly, because in the ultimate analysis it is our domestic progress that counts and that gives us some strength to deal with outside problems. Secondly, because the time has come for us to review what is being done in India, to understand it and to give it the right direction and push. The next two or three months are relatively easy months from the political point of view and therefore it is desirable that we should utilize them in thinking about these matters, so that we can go ahead a little later with greater energy and understanding.

11. Since I wrote to you my last fortnightly letter, much has happened in international affairs. I went to Colombo to the South East Asian Prime Ministers' Conference there and, since my return, we have had to give much thought to what is happening at Geneva as well as, of course, the situation in Indo-China. During the last few days I have spoken at length in both the Lok Sabha and the Council of States on foreign affairs, more particularly on the Colombo Conference,³ the

³ Nehru informed the Lok Sabha on 15 May 1954 that the Colombo Conference countries, while differing on several issues, were unanimous in opposition to any interference from outside in their internal affairs and policies.

Geneva Conference⁴ and the developments in the French establishments in India.⁵ The upheaval in Pondicherry and other French enclaves has been remarkable and spontaneous. We welcome it, of course, and yet it is embarrassing for us because we wish to act in a strictly constitutional manner and not unilaterally. At the present moment our representatives are carrying on negotiations with the French Government in Paris about this issue. Thus far, not much progress has been made. This is partly due to the weakness and instability of the French Government. They hang on to office by a thin thread which might snap at any moment and therefore they dare not come to any vital decisions. I hope that these negotiations will yield substantial results. But whatever that may be, the future of these French establishments has been practically decided by the people living there and there can be no going back on that position.

12 Goa is a much tougher problem. We shall deal with it in due course with a mixture of patience and firmness.

13 About Colombo and Geneva, I need not say much because I have said much elsewhere. The Colombo Conference was undoubtedly a unique event and I am sure the Prime Minister of Ceylon, who invited us, was himself surprised at the importance of that conference. It was the first coming together on the official level of some Asian countries, recently freed. Pakistan stood rather apart from the others because of its entanglement with American policy. Nevertheless, we arrived at a very large measure of

4 While stressing the importance of the Geneva Conference, Nehru believed that had the ceasefire in Indo-China been effected at the time when India proposed it, much of the killings would have been avoided.

5 He stated on 15 May in the Lok Sabha that roughly one-fifth of French establishments were under some kind of popular control and in the rest there were strong movements.

agreement⁶ because of the pressure of circumstances and the common urges of the people of Asia.

14 In Geneva, progress is slow, but it is evident that at least two countries are trying their utmost to find a way to some settlement, even though that might be a provisional settlement. These two countries are the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. France is in a very difficult position because of her defeat in Indo-China and the instability of her Government. French opinion is anxious to have a ceasefire and settlement in Indo-China. But the Government seems to be of many minds and is pulled in different directions. The United States, for the first time in international conferences, is not playing a very important part. Normally they dominate such conferences. But the initial lead they gave was not accepted by the others and Mr. Dulles retired from the scene.

15. Basically the question is whether there should be a settlement involving give and take or an imposition. The United States want an imposition of the terms they approve of, which practically amount to a surrender of the other party, and yet the other party is in by no means a weak position. In fact, both militarily and politically, they are well established and there is no reason, therefore, that they should surrender. President Eisenhower put this essential difficulty in a phrase. He said that they were faced with a dilemma which was represented by the two words—unattainable and unacceptable.

16 No country in the world really wants war except probably Formosa and South Korea. They imagine that they

⁶ The conference urged speedy ceasefire in Indo-China and the complete independence of the associated states, the suspension of the hydrogen bomb tests, People's China's representation in the U N, self-determination for Morocco and Tunisia, and rehabilitation of the Palestinian Arab refugees in their original homes. Affirming their faith in democratic institutions, the Prime Ministers expressed their determination to resist outside interference in their countries' affairs.

will be beneficiaries if a war takes place. In a similar way there are two countries which are in a sense beneficiaries of the cold war. These are Germany and Japan. If there is any settlement, the help that is flowing into Germany and Japan from the United States is likely to lessen considerably.

17 Our relations with Pakistan are about as bad as they have ever been. I do not think there is much ill will between the peoples of the two countries. But governmentally these relations are bad. Politically, Pakistan is unstable and there is no knowing when there might be a change there at the top. The conflict between East Pakistan and West becomes more bitter.⁷ Economic conditions in Pakistan are very bad. Meanwhile, Americans of various kinds crowd into western Pakistan.

18 I have drawn your attention previously to some resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at its last meeting.⁸ They are important and they lay down the policy in regard to the question of language, reorganization of States and prohibition which, I think, is of great importance and has to be followed. It is most unfortunate that both in regard to the States problem and the language problem, bitter and wholly unnecessary controversies continue. This does little credit to us.

19 Taking a broad survey, we can say that we are doing fairly well. Difficult problems confront us, internationally and nationally, and there are some forces at work which tend to disrupt and weaken. Among these forces are those connected with the language controversy and the reorganization of States. We have, therefore, to be particularly careful not to encourage these forces and to approach these

7 For example, several prominent legislators from West Pakistan stayed away from the discussion on 7 May 1954 in the Constituent Assembly on the question of treating Bengali on par with Urdu on the plea that the measure was an "appeasement" of and "surrender to political pressure" from East Bengal.

8 See *ante*, pp. 536-537.

problems in a spirit of conciliation. Speaking the other day⁹ to a large number of Members of Parliament on the language question, I pointed out that I was not aware of any instance in history, at any time, where there was such a great deal of agreement on such an issue as there was in India. This agreement on the question of language is enshrined in our Constitution and is generally and widely accepted by the people in the north and the south. In other countries, where language issues have been raised, there have been bitter controversies and a lack of agreement. In Yugoslavia there are three official languages and two scripts and all official work is done in three languages and two scripts. There is no compulsion on anyone to learn a particular language. Yugoslavia wisely decided to give this freedom so as not to appear to impose anything on any part of the people and to allow natural growth. We have gone much further and generally accepted two basic propositions: firstly, that all the regional languages have to be fully developed in their regions, and secondly, that Hindi should be the all-India official language. This does not mean that Hindi is a better language than the other regional languages. It means that Hindi is the most suitable language for all-India purposes. We must not let it appear that Hindi is being imposed at the expense of other languages, for that will be injurious to the growth of Hindi. Hindi has been accepted for all-India purposes and we should help it to grow and enrich it for this purpose. Indeed, we should not even impose it on the smaller languages, as in the tribal areas. We have laid down that the mother tongue, whatever it is, must be the medium of primary education. It is for this reason also that I deprecate the agitation against Urdu. Urdu is no rival of Hindi and cannot be such. But to suppress it or discourage it is bad both from the political and cultural points of view. We should encourage it in its own sphere and make people feel that there is no animus against Urdu. Another fact to be

9 Nehru addressed the Congress Parliamentary Party on 15 May 1954

borne in mind is that no people, in any part of the country, should feel that they will be put under a handicap or disability because Hindi will become the all-India language. If these two factors are borne in mind and if we work for the growth of Hindi, then there will be no opposition and no conflict

20. In regard to the reorganization of States, it is becoming absolutely necessary that we pull ourselves up and refuse to bring this subject down to the level of passionate controversy. By strong language and denunciation of each other, we shall achieve nothing except our own discredit

21. The international situation is a dangerous one. Our situation vis-a-vis Pakistan is also full of perils. We have to bear all this in mind in our domestic affairs and not allow ourselves to weaken or to be disunited

22. It may interest you to know that a few days ago I met Mr. Appleby who paid us a second visit this year. He went to many places which he had visited the previous year. He told me that what he had considered not possible last year had, to his surprise, been done. In fact, he was greatly heartened by the progress that had been made in India even in this year. He spoke highly of the administrative apparatus of some States. What cheered him especially was the popular response to our community project and other programmes

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
20 May, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

The progress of the National Plan Loan¹ has not been as good as we had hoped. The total subscriptions from the 19th April to the 15th May amounted to Rs 61 crores. Of this, the amount subscribed by the general public is not very good. We hope that, with the end of the busy season at the end of this month, there will be a greater response. It is necessary, however, to keep up propaganda and make a special effort to this end. I do hope that your Government will help in this in every way. As you know, this is for the common good of the State as well as the Central Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. The Loan was announced by the Central Government on 12 April 1954 to raise funds from the public to finance developmental programmes covering both the Central and the States schemes

Simla

24 May, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

The other day a question was asked in the Madras Assembly about the expenses of a brief visit I paid to Madras State in October last. The answer was that this cost the State something in the neighbourhood of Rs. 90,000/-. As far as I remember, I spent about three days in Madras State.

I was shocked and upset to learn that my visits on tour cost so much. I cannot understand why this should be so. It was said that this was for security reasons. Security may be very necessary and I have no complaint about it. But if, in the name of security, we spend such vast sums, then there is obviously something very wrong somewhere. I shall hesitate to go anywhere if I am so costly.

Whenever I have protested in a State against the elaborate arrangements made for me, I have been told that they are merely carrying out the directions of the Home Ministry in Delhi. When I ask the Home Ministry, they admit that they have issued full instructions but they add that there is no reason why a certain commonsense should not be applied and, in any event, why such large sums should be spent.

This is an important public matter and it has drawn considerable public attention as well as criticism. For me, it is painful.

Apart from security, I have found that the other arrangements made for me are much too elaborate and costly. Instead of adding to my convenience or comfort, they

* A special letter in addition to the *Fortnightly Letters*.

24 May, 1954

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disturb and distress me. I have often pointed this out in the States I have visited.

I am writing to our Home Ministry on this subject, because it has become essential that this should be carefully looked into and it should be made quite impossible for these heavy sums to be spent. Indeed, I just cannot understand how all this money can be spent on security or other arrangements.

I shall be grateful if you will look into this matter. My future tours, etc. will depend greatly on how far I am satisfied about arrangements made for me and the cost of them

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
3 June, 1954
Id Dar

My dear Chief Minister,

The newspapers are full of the Geneva Conference. In spite of these full reports, it is a little difficult to find out what is really happening, and yet the main picture is clear enough. What is happening in Geneva is, I need hardly say, of the highest importance. It may represent a turn towards peace or towards war, and war now means a major war developing into something on a world scale. Recently a turn for the better took place in regard to Indo-China and the High Commands of the warring factions there are now meeting in Geneva to discuss technical details connected with a ceasefire. That is good, in so far as it goes. But there are too many obstacles yet for any assurance that a settlement will come.

2. A recent move, apparently by Thailand¹ but obviously inspired by the U.S.A., has been to ask the Security Council to send observers under a peace sub-commission to the Thai-Indo-China border. It seems rather odd to choose this particular moment to make this request, just when there is a talk of a ceasefire and a possible settlement in the Indo-China region. There has been no danger to the Thai border ever since the Geneva Conference met. Therefore this move has little to do with the present, but rather indicates an expectation of failure at Geneva. If there is failure, then a number of peace observers at the border there would hardly

1. Thailand made the request on 29 May 1954 to the Chairman of the Security Council

be of much help. Raising this particular question in the Security Council at this present juncture, to some extent, lessens the chances of a settlement at Geneva. The issues there are very delicately balanced and every little thing counts this way or that way.

3. As a matter of fact, the U.K. Government has been much put out by this Thai request and even the French Government has not liked it. Nevertheless, the matter is going to be considered in the Security Council. We are not there, but we have made our views clear to some of the Powers concerned and expressed our apprehension at this step.² Probably, if this matter is pressed in the Security Council, some of the countries which privately disapprove of it, may publicly support it, because of their bonds with the U.S.A.

4. The Indo-China situation concerns us especially in two ways. One, of course, is the possibility of a breakdown in the negotiations, leading to an extension of the war area. The French are politically and militarily in a very weak position. If the war continues, they are likely to suffer further defeats. This will not be tolerated by the U.S. and they might then intervene directly. Such intervention by the U.S. is likely to be followed by China intervening also directly, and that means full scale war between the U.S. and China. If that once happens, then a world war will not be far off. Because of this, what happens at Geneva is of the highest importance.

5. The other aspect concerning us is in the event of some possible settlement. There is a great deal of talk about neutral nations undertaking the burden of policing the area in case of a ceasefire. When people talk about neutral nations, the first country they think of is India. This may be an honourable position for us, but it also brings

² On 2 June 1954, India informed the British Government that "Thailand's appeal to the Security Council is ill timed and is likely to prejudice the Geneva Conference."

responsibility. We have refused to commit ourselves in any way. But circumstances are such that it may be difficult for us not to undertake some kind of responsibility. We have made it clear, however, that we can only do so if there is agreement between the two parties and at their invitation. Further that we shall only undertake peaceful duties and not commit ourselves to anything which might lead to military operations.

6 You must have seen frequent references in the newspapers to the visit of Shri V.K. Krishna Menon to Geneva and to his meeting the leading delegates there. Many people have thought that he is intervening in some way on behalf of India or that he has carried some special messages from us to the Geneva Conference. This is not correct. It is true, however, that he went to Geneva, on his way to New York, at our instance. I suggested to him to spend about four or five days there and meet the representatives of the U.K., the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, and China³ especially, and explain to them our own attitude and, more especially, what the Colombo Conference had done. We have no proposals or suggestions to make. When Shri Krishna Menon got there, he had long talks with the principal parties and it was found that his presence there might perhaps be useful because he could meet the delegates informally and talk to them frankly. In the conference itself there is so much rigidity and formality that such informal approaches seldom take place. A person who represents a neutral country has thus a certain advantage in informal discussions. I believe that Shri Krishna Menon's presence in Geneva has done some good in this way. In fact, when he went away to London, it was suggested to him to return to Geneva where he has gone now. He has been in close touch with Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, who has been working hard for peace.

3 He met General Bedell-Smith, U.S. Under Secretary of State, V. Molotov, the Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., and Zhou Enlai, the Chinese Premier, between 23 and 29 May 1954.

7. We have taken particular care not to give any publicity or to stress in any way the informal part that India has taken behind the scenes at Geneva. Yet the fact remains that this part has been an important one and might well make some difference. In fact, most close observers have realized that any real settlement in South East Asia must have the goodwill and support of India, even though India is not officially connected with the Geneva Conference. All this brings additional responsibilities upon us. We try to avoid them but we cannot escape when such great issues are at stake.

8. Negotiations in regard to the French establishments in India are proceeding in Paris. The pace is rather slow. Partly this is due to the complicated state of French domestic politics, with the Government hanging on by a thread, and partly to the French preoccupation with Geneva. After much preliminary talk, the French Government made some definite proposals, which we found totally unacceptable.⁴ We are now making some counter-proposals which, in essence, give us authority in these settlements while maintaining a measure of French prestige. This is, of course, suggested only for a brief period at the end of which there should be full transfer. If these proposals of ours are not agreed to, then there will be a break in the negotiations and our representatives will come back. Meanwhile, there have been several bad incidents in these French establishments as you must have read in the papers.⁵

9. A very important, but not wholly unexpected, development has taken place in East Pakistan which has gone under Governor's rule.⁶ This is remarkable so soon

4. The talks in Paris failed due to the insistence of the French Government on retaining effective control while allowing Indian officials to share some authority with the French in certain military departments.

5. Some Indian villages were raided by armed men from Yamam.

6. On 30 May 1954, the Ministry headed by Fazlul Huq was dismissed after one week and Governor's rule was imposed with Major General Iskander Mirza, Defence Secretary, as the new Governor.

after a general election which gave a tremendous majority to one group, and in a country predominantly Muslim, in the month of *Ramzan* and on the eve of *Id* Pakistan today represents a country in a state of progressive disruption, both political and economic. Apparently, the only thing that really holds it together is the army. But it is doubtful how far even a good army can succeed in this task for long. So far as we are concerned in India, it is better for us to avoid saying much about these developments in Pakistan. We have to be vigilant, however, because, when the military mind is in control, anything may happen.

10 At a recent meeting of the Congress Working Committee, special attention was drawn to the *panchayat* system.⁷ I would commend your attention to that resolution because I think it is essential for us to develop these self-governing institutions from the village upwards. I believe that the bases of our political and judicial systems should be the *panchayats*.

11 In my last letter to you, I referred to some remarks made by Mr. Appleby during his recent visit to India. You will be interested to read a note⁸ of his regarding our community projects and extension service. I attach a copy of it.⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7 The resolution passed on 22 May 1954 strongly advocated setting up of *gram panchayats* to decentralize the judicial administration.

8 Appleby, while commending the "general success of the programme," found "an insufficient reorientation to the really revolutionary commitment to a national extension service," due to "a lingering pre-occupation with old activities and old ways of working."

9 Not printed.

New Delhi
8 June, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

Many of you have written to me about the steps you have taken in regard to the National Plan Loan. I know that in some of the States effective steps have been taken even on the district level, but I have a feeling that in some States greater impetus could be given to this loan. You will, therefore, forgive me for writing again on the subject, even though this is rather unnecessary in the case of some States.

The results thus far achieved have not been very satisfactory in regard to individual participation and, more especially small subscriptions, which we consider so important. Information has reached me also from some districts where thus far little or nothing has been done.

I would, therefore, suggest to you to wake up your district authorities. I feel sure that, with more effort at the district level, much greater results could be achieved. I suggest that your District Magistrates might be asked, if they have not already been asked, to send weekly reports to you.

I need not emphasize the importance of this loan, not only from the financial point of view but, even more so, from the psychological.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

New Delhi
15 June, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

During the past fortnight, by far the most important thing from the world point of view has been the Geneva Conference. As I write this letter, it appears to be collapsing.¹ It is just possible that the conference will adjourn without breaking up completely, leaving the military talks to be continued. If so, it might state that when the ceasefire talks are over, the other matters will be further considered. That appears to be possibly the most-favourable outcome that one can expect now from this conference, or the result might be worse and may be a complete break-up.

2. There have been two questions discussed at Geneva, the Korean question and Indo-China. Both have acted and reacted on each other. The Indo-China situation has been the graver because war is going on there and the position of the French grows daily worse. And yet, perhaps the real difficulties at Geneva related more to the Korean question. It was proposed that the present neutral supervisory commission in Korea might be ended. This would have led to the ending of the armistice in Korea also and that might well have meant the resumption of war. The South Korean

1 It was reported from Geneva on 5 June that the peace talks had nearly failed due to differences between the two sides on supervision of the armistice, functions and powers of the supervisory commission, and the choice of the countries to form the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. The U.S. also opposed the Soviet Union's insistence on retaining the power of veto in the Neutral Nations Armistice Control Commission.

leaders continuously talk of war. Thus, there has been a fear of war starting in Korea and war continuing in Indo-China.

3. There have been fairly full reports in the press about the discussions in Geneva, though often there is a definite slant given to these reports. It has been unfortunate that, during the greater part of this conference period, there has been no adequate Indian press representation there, which can give a more objective analysis of the situation. I have received almost daily reports from Mr. Eden. Presumably these are sent to all Commonwealth countries. In addition, I have sometimes had personal messages from Mr. Eden. I have also had reports from time to time from Shri V.K. Krishna Menon. This has enabled me to follow these proceedings a little more easily than I might otherwise have done. Even so, the entire situation has been so complicated that it is difficult to understand the inner workings of it. Our position has been, as you know, that, for the sake of helping the cause of peace, we would be prepared to undertake certain responsibilities, provided always that there is an agreement between the rival parties. When Mr. Eden suggested that the Colombo Conference countries should undertake the supervision of an armistice in Indo-China,² we pointed out to him that we could only accept something which had been agreed to by both the parties. As the Soviet

² Eden said on 8 June 1954 that these five "impartial" countries should supervise the armistice as "they have a particular concern in restoration of peace in Indo-China and possess first-hand knowledge of the kind of problem confronting us there."

Union and China did not accept this proposal of Mr. Eden,³ it fell through, just as the other proposals had also fallen through. The Soviet Union had no particular objection to Pakistan being one of the countries, but it did object to Pakistan being considered a neutral country because of the military aid that the U.S. have given it. At the same time, both the Soviet Union and China vigorously opposed the suggestion that no Communist country could be neutral

4 It is always difficult to know what public opinion is in countries like the Soviet Union and China. We can only discuss governmental opinion. In the United States, on the other hand, there is so much public opinion and so varied that it is difficult to know what it is in the balance. Even the U.S. State policy is difficult to understand. Important people speak in different ways or with a different emphasis. Some talk of intervention and war,⁴ others say that they should not intervene.⁵ The balance now appears to be in favour of non-intervention, for the simple reason that the French collapse in Indo-China has gone too far, and even intervention might not yield the results aimed at.

5. An American writer, describing these international conferences, uses the simile of a poker game in the old wild days of the west in America. Apparently the players not only played it with cards but with six shooters in their hip pockets. If the distribution of the cards was not favourable,

3 On 5 June 1954, Molotov, while reaffirming that the joint armistice commission should consist of India, Pakistan, Poland and Czechoslovakia, said that if objection was raised to considering Poland and Czechoslovakia as neutral, then "in no lesser degree such objection can be raised against the capitalist countries."

4 On 16 April 1954, Vice-President Nixon stated that "to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and Indo-China, we must take the risk now, by putting our boys in. I think the Executive has to take the politically unpopular decision and do it."

5 For example, on 18 April 1954, Senator Mansfield warned that U.S. intervention in Indo-China might prove to be the start of a world war. He wanted France to grant full independence to Indo-China immediately.

the six shooters came out and decided the outcome of the game. So, if the political situation is not favourable, the big weapons come out and war is thought of. At present, in Indo-China, both the political and the military situation is entirely favourable to the Viet Minh. In Korea, there is a stalemate. In the wider field there is a fear in the mind of the military people in the U.S. that the Soviet Union is progressing fast in the atomic field and might even go ahead of the U.S., so far as the hydrogen bomb is concerned. Thus, the fear is that both the strategic balance and the weapons balance is turning against them. Should one wait for this to happen or indulge in the desperate venture of an appeal to arms? This is where what is called a "preventive" war comes in. There has been far too much loose talk in the United States and now that the hard facts of the situation are being appreciated a little more than they were, there is confusion in thinking and anger and some sense of frustration. A war now does not offer a clear chance of success. A war later might be still less likely to offer this.

6. In such a situation of relative balance in both the strategic and weapons positions, the only chance of peace is to recognize that neither party can dictate terms to the other. That is some kind of negotiated settlement and a recognition of live and let live. Probably the Soviet Union and China are well content to accept this position because they think time is in their favour. For the Americans, this is hard to swallow. In the past they have often said that the People's Government of China must be liquidated and they have encouraged Formosa to think so. Suggestions have also been made that some of the smaller Eastern European Communist countries should also be helped to throw off Soviet dominance. Now it gradually appears that this is no easy matter and indeed is hardly possible except in terms of a highly risky adventure and war.

7. Mr. Dulles at one time perhaps thought that the threat of massive retaliation and of military combinations in Europe and in Asia against the Communist countries might frighten these countries and induce them to surrender. It did not

frighten them and then the question arose whether the threat should be acted upon. Other countries like the U.K. were not prepared for this and so the U.S. also had to hold back.

8. As you know, Mr. Casey,⁶ the Australian Foreign Minister passed through Delhi a few days ago⁷ on his way to Geneva. I had a long talk with him. Casey began by expressing some apprehension in regard to American policy which, he said, was wholly unrealistic. He told me that Australia had privately exercised as much pressure as they could to restrain the aggressive tendency in America. Of course, publicly they could not do so and, in the final analysis, they would have to support America. What was American policy?, he asked. It was influenced by so many extraneous factors that it was impossible to answer this question with any precision. The American Constitution, according to him, was wholly out of date and provided so many checks and counter-checks that no firm policy could develop. Indeed, this Constitution was a continuation, with some variations, of the old colonial Constitution of the 13 States, prior to independence. At present, no clear line could be adopted by the American State Department because of the elections that were coming in November next. Casey said that he was convinced that there could be no real settlement of the Far Eastern questions so long as the People's Government of China was not given a place in the U.N. He had mentioned this to Mr. Dulles, who had replied that, whatever the merits of that question might be, he could not possibly go against the strong opinions held in America and certainly not before the November elections.

9. As a matter of fact, the question of China's admission in the U.N. has not been directly discussed at Geneva. But it is perfectly true that this has been the basic question and affects Chinese reactions powerfully. Dulles, just before the Geneva

6. For b. fn. see Vol 2, p.526.

7. 10 and 11 June 1954

Conference, made some contemptuous references to Chou En-lai and China,⁸ and yet, it is with Chou En-lai that he and the other countries have to deal in Geneva and, what is more, Chou En-lai is in rather a favourable position

10. Mr. Casey thought that probably the only way out would be for a partition of Vietnam. Some people even in America think that the whole of Vietnam should be written off and Laos and Cambodia and, of course, Siam, should be protected. All this indicates that there is no clear policy or clear thinking. The rapid succession of events has gone beyond the thinking of many of these statesmen and they are in a state of confused frustration.

11. In the course of the discussions in Geneva, Mr. Eden drew attention to an interesting fact. He pointed out that there was a great difference between Vietnam and Laos and Cambodia. That was the dividing line between two great civilizations, the Chinese and the Indian. Vietnam has been far more powerfully influenced by China in the past, while Laos and Cambodia had still greater evidences of Indian influence.

12. As you know, Shri Krishna Menon has been in Geneva for a good many days. Some people have said that his going there, when India was not invited to the conference, was hardly consistent with India's dignity. It was a kind of "gate-crashing" which did not enhance our prestige. As a matter of fact, India's prestige had seldom been higher than it has been in Geneva during these fateful days. This, of

8. Reacting to Molotov's proposal at the Berlin Conference for inviting People's China to the proposed Geneva Conference, Dulles said on 15 April 1954 "who is this Chou En-lai whose addition to our circle would make possible all that has for so long seemed impossible? He is a leader of a regime which gained *de facto* power in China through bloody war; which has liquidated millions of Chinese, which diverts the economic resources of its impoverished people to military efforts, so that they starve by the million, which became an aggressor in Korea and was adjudged so by the United Nations, which promotes aggression in Indo-China by training and equipping the aggressors and supplying them with vast amounts of war munitions."

course, was not due to Krishna Menon being there, but to a variety of facts and circumstances. In fact, everybody who has been to Geneva says that India, though not represented in the conference, almost filled people's minds and everyone was asking as to what India thought about any proposal. Far from India's prestige or dignity suffering, they have been enhanced very greatly and much to the annoyance and discomfort of those who are not our friends. People have realised that we take a calm and objective view of the situation that we are not partisans and that we are devoted to peace. Also that we do not go about begging for favours or even for an invitation to the Geneva Conference. And yet, we are prepared to help in such ways as we can. Krishna Menon went to Geneva at our request for four or five days to explain India's views to the principal representatives of the Powers there. There was a good deal of misunderstanding and it was desirable to make our position clear to them privately, so that we might not be entangled at a later stage owing to some misunderstanding. Also there had been the Colombo Conference and we wanted to explain what this conference meant in regard to Indo-China especially. Of course, Krishna Menon did not go on behalf of the Colombo Conference. He went on behalf of our Government. Even before he reached Geneva, he received a message from Mr. Eden at Cairo requesting him to meet him in Paris first which was done. Later, in Geneva he played an important role in breaking through somewhat the rigidity that prevailed there at that time between the different delegations. Mr. Eden sent me a message appreciating the help that Krishna Menon was giving. When Krishna Menon went away to London after a few days, he received a message from Mr. Eden requesting him to come back to Geneva. I had given him discretion in this matter and he went back. Again, after a few more days, he was on the point of leaving, when Mr. Casey saw me here and expressed a wish to see Krishna Menon in Geneva. So I asked him to stay on for another two or three days. He left Geneva yesterday. His stay there was helpful in many ways during these delicate negotiations and

many a petty obstacles was surmounted. Oddly enough our standing with nearly all the delegations continues to be high, in spite of all that has happened. This includes not only the big Powers but also the Viet Minh, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

13. We shall await with some apprehension the course of coming events. This course is not likely to be a smooth one. Probably the war in Indo-China will continue and Hanoi and the surrounding region will fall to Viet Minh. The French have lost their morale completely and the defeat of the French Government⁹ has made matters worse both for the war in Indo-China and the continuation of the Geneva Conference. Whatever may happen, the situation is a serious one and perhaps, in spite of every desire to avoid the final catastrophe of war, the world may gradually be pushed into it. I do not suppose this will happen in the near future but the chances of peace have receded, and, if that is so, some time or other the conflict we have feared will begin. I remember being told by eminent statesmen of the West that a war now will be very different from any previous war. It will not begin slowly and gradually develop, but will begin at the highest pitch, and the aim will be utter destruction of the enemy's cities, industries, administrative centres and, in fact, everything that represents the organized life of a nation. The atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb also will come into play. Each party will be afraid of the other getting the lead and so it will do its utmost. If this happens, then a force will have been let loose which no one can control. It will have an impetus of its own and may go on almost indefinitely. It is not easy to imagine a quick victory or even a victory after some considerable time. Death and devastation on a colossal scale will spread throughout the world.

⁹ Laniel offered his resignation on 12 June after the National Assembly passed three resolutions criticizing the Government's policy, and particularly its handling of the Indo-China question.

14. All this leads one to think that the only possible policy for India, as well as for other countries in Asia, is to adhere strictly to the policy of non-alignment and of keeping out of the war. Both from the larger point of view of the world and from the narrowest selfish motives, that is the only possible way for us. We talk of the Colombo Conference powers, but it is clear that all of them do not hold the same opinion. Pakistan certainly does not, it is definitely committed. Ceylon anyhow is not very important in this context. Indonesia and Burma are very much nearer to India's policy, though in some matters, they might differ because of their internal or external situations.

15 This brings me to Pakistan. Just as the general elections in East Bengal were quite unique, the subsequent happenings there are equally without precedent. East Bengal is being treated like a colony of Western Pakistan and a colony under military domination. Considerable armed forces have been sent from the West to the East. The story of how this decision was taken at Karachi is an extraordinary one. Mr. Fazlul Huq was deliberately trapped, through an American newspaper man,¹⁰ to say something about the independence of East Bengal. Immediately this particular sentence was broadcasted by the Pakistan Government, regardless of the context. Mr. Fazlul Huq denied it and then Prime Minister Mahomed Ali sent for him and the American correspondent, made them sit in front of him, and got the American correspondent to contradict Fazlul Huq. Making this the basis of their charge, they declared Fazlul Huq a traitor and put an end to his Government.¹¹

10 A. K. Fazlul Huq denied on 24 May 1954 having said to the correspondent of the *New York Times* as reported by the paper on the previous day that "East Pakistan wished to become an independent State" and "independence will be one of the first things to be taken up by my Ministry." He claimed that what he had told the correspondent was that "East Pakistan should be an autonomous unit of Pakistan. I never said for a moment that our ideal is independence."

11 Branding Fazlul Huq "a traitor", Mahomed Ali said on 20 May 1954 that he was "fundamentally disloyal to Pakistan."

16. Even before Fazlul Huq had gone to Karachi, he had been asked by the Karachi Government to arrest a number of persons, including some of his own colleagues and elected Members of the legislature. Fazlul Huq refused to do so and he was summoned to Karachi. He continued to refuse. It is stated that the then Governor of East Bengal, Choudhury Khaliquzzaman,¹² was asked by Karachi to take charge of the Government. Khaliquzzaman refused to do so and pointed out that this would have dangerous consequences. Thereupon, Iskander Mirza¹³ was sent.

17. At the present moment, there is not much outward evidence of opposition to the Governor's rule in East Bengal. Petty incidents have occurred, students' strikes, etc. But, on the whole, the people of East Bengal have not done much. They are stunned and perhaps a little frightened. It is obvious, however, that there is deep resentment all over East Bengal. The economic situation is very bad. The Karachi Government have announced that they will throw in supplies there and spend six or seven crores of rupees in helping East Bengal in various ways. It is doubtful if this will make any marked difference.

18. Among the large number of arrests made, there have been some Hindus. Mostly they are supposed to be leftists with connections with the Communist Party, Ganatantra Dal and Youth League. Some Congress workers have also been arrested. On the whole, however, there has been no major action against the Hindus. Nor have many Hindus tried to migrate although they are apprehensive of the future.

19. There was an attempt in East Bengal to form an

12 (1899-1973) Congressman from U.P. who later joined the Muslim League, member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1939 and 1946, leader of the Muslim League in the Indian Constituent Assembly, 1947-50, Governor, East Pakistan, 1953-54; Ambassador to Indonesia and Philippines, 1954.

13 (1889-1969) Joined Indian Army, 1921; Defence Secretary, Pakistan Government, 1947, Minister for Home Affairs, 1954, Governor-General, 1955-56 and President of Pakistan, 1956-58.

alternative Ministry which has failed, and there is little chance of the restoration of parliamentary Government there. Probably nothing much will happen in East Bengal during the next two or three months. The rebellious spirits will go underground or work quietly. Leadership is absent. Many of their well-known leaders are in prison. Suhrawardy has been very ill and has gone to Europe for treatment. Probably the most effective leader is Bhashani,¹⁴ who is also at present in Europe.

20. Our negotiations with the French Government about Pondicherry, etc., have failed.¹⁵ There is no immediate talk of their resumption, but it is quite possible that some such attempt might be made on the part of France. This may be delayed because of the fall of the French Government. Meanwhile, another enclave, has joined the liberated areas.

21. I am deeply distressed at the turn the linguistic States controversy is taking. In spite of all our attempts to keep this controversy within the bounds of reason and good sense, people tend to become more and more passionate and aggressive. The most fantastic claims are sometimes made. At this particular juncture of the world's history, this is especially unfortunate. I do not know what we can do about it except to impress upon our people and, more especially, our Governments, that we should deal with this problem in a friendly and dispassionate way. Some people produce fancy schemes on the basis of logic, but totally devoid of common sense. We cannot uproot all our history just because some abstract logic requires it. Necessary changes should certainly be made, but the fewer the changes the better.

22. Another matter that has troubled me is the controversy

14 Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (1886-1976) East Bengal politician, religious leader and an outspoken advocate of militant methods to make East Bengal an independent nation, headed the pro-Beijing faction of the National Awami Party.

15 Negotiations broke down on 4 June 1954 after discussions for a fortnight on the conditions under which the transfer of sovereignty should take place.

about missionaries. It would be unfortunate if this is considered on the religious level. Apart from that being, I think, not in line with our Constitution and our being a secular State, it might encourage all kinds of aggressive tendencies in our people. I have, therefore, endeavoured to deal with it on the political level only, that is, how far we can permit foreigners to come here on political and like grounds and where we should permit them to go, such as frontier areas, etc. I think that it is unsafe for us, on political grounds, to have large numbers of missionaries about. I have no objection on religious grounds, except that personally the evangelical activities of missionaries do not appeal to me. It must be remembered that, even under British rule and with everything in favour of foreign missionaries, their success in India was not great. Now conditions are totally different. Most of our Governments do not look with favour on such activities and public opinion generally is much opposed to them. Therefore, nothing much can happen, and all this fear and apprehension of what the Christian missionaries might do seems to be grossly exaggerated. It is true that in some of the tribal areas, trouble might be created. We can guard against it.

23. It is no sign of tolerance, or if I may say so with great respect, of any high culture to get excited over such matters. It is not the foreigner who will injure as much but our own wrong actions and intolerance. Even Hinduism, which has not been a proselytizing religion, has now developed certain aggressive wings which convert and re-convert. One hears of the shuddhi movement¹⁶ and all its effects. The Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. organization are aggressively Hindu and dislike non-Hindus, and indeed consider them as some kind of aliens in India. It is this that is dangerous for us because Hindus are the dominant element in India. If they do not show the fullest tolerance to the minority groups, then it will be bad for us.

¹⁶ The shuddhi (purification) movement was started in 1923 to reconvert Hindus who had accepted other faiths

24. I have drawn your attention previously to the condition of the minorities in India, more especially the Muslims, who are still in large numbers. In the Services and elsewhere, their opportunities are progressively limited. If we are to be secular, stable, and strong State, our first consideration must be to give absolute fairplay to our minorities, and thus to make them feel completely at home in India. We are apt to preach to them too much as to what they should do and some condemn them. That does not help. We have to deal with the psychological reactions of large numbers of people. If by our activities we produce the wrong reactions and fear and apprehension, then we have failed, whatever logical justification we might give. Indeed, the only right attitude is to show generosity to these minority communities, who should be considered as a trust by us.

25. I have written to you previously about the fuss that is often made about my tours, the special arrangements made for security and comfort and the like. I would beg of you to help me by reducing this fuss to the least possible. Not only in regard to me but in regard to others also I think we are getting tied up in too much show and ceremonial. I do not mind big impersonal ceremonial on occasions such as the Republic Day and the like. But, I do not think it is becoming for all our Ministers, whenever they travel, to insist on too much ceremonial. The less of it the better. We shall come nearer to the people then and not be considered a class apart.

26. Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been invited by the U K Government and also Yugoslavia. She is going to pay these visits soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
22 June, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

As you probably know, the Government of India have sanctioned a project for the creation of a factory for the production of wireless and electronics equipment, and have formed a private limited company called the Bharat Electronics Limited with headquarters in Bangalore. The factory is expected to go into production in June 1956. This is one of the important projects under the Ministry of Defence

I am very anxious that with the help of this factory, we should, so far as the requirements of wireless and electronics equipment of Government departments are concerned, attain self-sufficiency in the near future. In this endeavour we require the co-operation not only of the Departments of the Government of India but also that of the Governments of States. What I would request is that in regard to the future provisioning and equipment of wireless and electronics goods in the Departments of your Government, they should be directed to co-ordinate their plans with the production programme of Bharat Electronics, and that no wireless or electronics equipment or instruments are introduced into any Department without ascertaining the possibility of their manufacture in the Bharat Electronics factory.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

* A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

New Delhi
22 June, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

For a change, I am writing to you before time. My last letter was sent to you just a little over a week ago. Certain developments have, however, taken place recently to which I should like to draw your attention. To some extent you are acquainted with them from the press. But that is, perhaps, not enough.

2. This morning I was to have gone to Mashobra near Simla for about a week's stay. I had fixed this up long ago and had made all necessary arrangements about my work, etc. I had conditioned my mind to go there. Suddenly, almost at the last moment yesterday, I had to switch off my mind and to give up this visit.

3. You know now the reason for this. Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of China, is paying a short visit to Delhi. He is due to arrive here day after tomorrow and is likely to stay for about three days. He is on his way back from Geneva to China. Nearly two months ago, I had conveyed informally an invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai to visit India on his way back from Geneva. He informed me yesterday that he had accepted this invitation. At his request, we have arranged to send an Air India international constellation to Geneva to bring him to Delhi. From here he will presumably go to Peking.

4. This visit of the Prime Minister of China to India is a matter of considerable significance and historical importance. It will be followed with the closest interest in other countries. There is nothing very special about it and it

is really in line with various developments that have taken place in recent years. During the last two years I have been invited on more than one occasion by Chairman Mao Tse-tung to pay a visit to China. The invitations have been informal because a formal invitation only comes when matters have been otherwise fixed up. On every occasion, when this invitation reached me, I expressed my appreciation of it and my desire to go to China. But I pointed out then that I could not pay this visit so long as war was going on in Korea. When a settlement came, I would gladly think of such a visit. After the Korean truce, we got tied up with the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and again it became rather embarrassing for me to go there. Later, the Indo-China war flared up and became a world issue, and again it was not very suitable for me to go.

5 Although Mr. Chou En-lai's visit might be considered to be in the normal course and quite natural on his way back from Geneva, it is, nevertheless, both in the context of history and of present-day politics, a very special event. The future of Asia depends upon many factors. One of these is the relationship between the two great countries of Asia—India and China. In our internal and external policies there are great differences. Nevertheless, we have endeavoured to come closer to one another without in any way varying our own particular policies. We have in fact proceeded in this matter, as in regard to other countries, on the basis of live and let live and non-interference. Our agreement with China in regard to Tibet laid down certain principles to which I have already drawn your attention. These principles are important not only as between us and China, but also in a wider field, whether that is Asia or even the world. It is clear that in no other way can peace be secured in the world in our generation. The alternative is conflict and war and destruction. Neither of the groups of Great Powers opposed to each other is so strong as to impose its will on the other. Neither is prepared to surrender to the other. The only way, therefore, is some kind of a negotiated settlement of the problems that face us. Such a settlement eases the tension

and lessens the bitter hostilities that consume the world. But, what is even more necessary is the development of a feeling of tolerance and a realistic appreciation of the facts of life in the world today

6 We have not proceeded on the assumption, as some countries do, that one country or one group is full of virtue and the other country or group is full of evil. We are, all of us, a mixture of the two. And, in any event, an attempt to remedy what we consider evil by force is likely to lead to infinitely greater evil. This, the broad policy we pursue is, externally, to tolerate other countries' views and policies and not to interfere with them and, at the same time, not to tolerate their interference with us; internally, to pursue our own policy and not to be deflected from it by external pressures. This is not a particularly easy matter and difficult situations continually arise. But it is the general approach that counts. If this approach was a little more widespread among other countries, the whole atmosphere of the world would change and peace would be more assured.

7 What I really wished to do in this letter was to give you some information about recent happenings in Geneva. A few days ago, it appeared almost certain that the Geneva Conference would break down completely. As a matter of fact even then the way out of the impasse was appearing to a considerable extent. India, or rather our representative there, Shri V K Krishna Menon, was responsible for this. One of the big stumbling blocks to an agreement was the issue of Laos and Cambodia.¹ It was in regard to this that a middle way was suggested and after long and separate arguments with representatives of the U K, China, and the U S S R,

1 While the Viet Minh would not accept the exclusion of Laos and Kampuchea from any peace settlement, the Western countries maintained that these two States could not be put on the same footing as Vietnam because they were threatened with aggression from outside by the Viet Minh.

this was broadly accepted.² In such matters individual approaches are often more effective than a conference. Thus the general lines of an agreement were accepted by Eden, Molotov³ and Chou En-lai. It was this proposal that was brought forward by Chou En-lai at a somewhat later stage⁴ and which created some little sensation in the conference. At the beginning the reaction to it was uniformly good; even General Bedell-Smith,⁵ the U.S. representative, described it as a reasonable proposal. Later, the U.S. viewpoint changed in regard to it.⁶

8 However, the result has been that the Geneva Conference has adjourned for the time being⁷ in an atmosphere of hope. There already appears to be a broad agreement about a ceasefire in Vietnam and the latest moves have brought promise of a similar agreement in Laos and Cambodia. One might say now, therefore, that a general ceasefire in Indo-China is almost assured. This is only a step towards a settlement; it is very far from a settlement, but it is a very big

2 On 19 June, unanimous agreement was announced on immediate cessation of hostilities and a meeting of the representatives of the two sides to study and report on the question of establishing peace in the two States.

3 V. M. Molotov (1890-1986) Chairman, Council of People's Commissars, 1930-41, Vice-Chairman and Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1939-49, 1953-57, Ambassador to Mongolian People's Republic, 1957-60.

4 On 16 June Zhou Enlai agreed to the withdrawal of Viet Minh forces from Laos and Kampuchea if the Conference agreed to ban foreign bases in these States, and also agreed that Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam need not be discussed together during the Conference.

5 General Walter Bedell-Smith (1895-1961) Chief of Staff Allied Forces during the campaign in North Africa, Sicily and Italy, 1942-44, and in Europe, 1944-45, U.S. Ambassador to U.S.S.R., 1946-49, Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1950 to 1953, Under Secretary of State, 1953-1954.

6 While on 16 June 1954, Walter Bedell-Smith termed the proposals as "reasonable" and "very moderate" on 18 June, Walter S. Robertson described them as "nothing new" and therefore "unacceptable".

7 On 19 June 1954.

step forward. The next question would be to fix up the procedure for neutral machinery. Even here, the differences have been narrowed, but they still persist. You will have noticed that in all the proposals India is mentioned and is a common factor. It is highly likely, therefore, that we shall have to shoulder a good deal of responsibility in this matter.

9 A very important development has been the appointment of M. Mendes-France⁸ as Prime Minister of France. Mr. Mendes-France has gone so far as to state that he will resign if he cannot secure a ceasefire in Indo-China within four weeks.¹⁰

10 For the first time, during these difficult months, we can feel that there is no likelihood of a world war in the near future. We came very near it. Many worked hard for staving off this world war III and we should give credit to them all. I think it is right to say that the part India played, quietly and unobtrusively, made in a great measure, these developments possible. Shri V.K. Krishna Menon has played a remarkable part at Geneva and both Mr. Eden and Mr. Chou En-lai have expressed to me their appreciation of his help. Although Krishna Menon's part has been very great, and in such situations personal contacts count for a great deal, we really should consider this success as the success of our basic approach to these problems in the context of our foreign policy. This policy and our general mediatory role in world affairs has been vindicated again by these far-reaching developments at Geneva. It is conceivable that without our informal and unobtrusive help the balance might well have tilted in the direction of war. Our policy has to be understood

8 Pierre Mendes-France (1907-1982) Leading member of French Socialist Party, Minister of National Economy, 1911-13, Prime Minister of France, June 1951-February 1955, Minister of State, 1956

9 *Sword* in on 18 June 1951

10 On 18 June 1951, he said that if he failed to obtain results by 20 July at the Geneva Conference, he would resign. He also promised to continue all necessary military measures in Indo-China.

in all its aspects. It is an integrated policy seeking and working primarily for peace and then for certain other objectives. Because of this broad approach, we have often to be restrained in other matters, and we refrain from condemning much that we dislike. Thus in regard to the French establishments in India, we have shown considerable restraint. In fact, we have often been criticized for our passivity. As a matter of fact, even the Paris negotiations yielded much. It is now accepted by France that these establishments must go to India. They have given up the idea of a referendum though, for constitutional requirements, they repeat that some kind of a consultation with the people should take place. We are agreeable to all this. The talks broke down about arrangements for a certain transitional period and, chiefly, regarding the police. You will observe, therefore, that we have made a good deal of progress though several hurdles remain. The French took up an unrealistic attitude and we were completely justified in asking for the control of the police.

11. We have tightened up some of our measures in the French enclaves, such as the issue of permits and the export of petrol, but, generally speaking, we have not taken any major step since this breakdown of our talks, even though the French have brought in some soldiers from Indo-China. We have viewed this whole problem in its larger context and not allowed ourselves to be swept away because of some incidents in Pondicherry. There is a new Government in France and a Prime Minister whose whole approach is likely to be different from the old approach. Then there is the problem of Indo-China with which, rather indirectly, we have become connected. Therefore, we do not wish to take a step in regard to Pondicherry, etc., which, instead of helping, might become a hindrance in many ways. We are convinced that these French settlements must come to us before long.

12. I have often written to you about our community projects and national extension service. I propose to write to

you rather fully about this a little later I have to draw your special attention to the recent Development Commissioners' Conference which was held at Ootacamund¹¹ This conference was rather remarkable and indicated the dynamic nature of this great movement Recently, a U N mission published a report which has been quoted extensively in the press¹² This report is rather old and deals with a period of over a year ago Since then great progress has been made in these community projects and national extension scheme Even so, the report of the mission is interesting The members of the mission travelled not only in India, but in some other parts of Asia They came to the conclusion that these projects in India were "the most significant experiment in economic development and social improvements in Asia at the present time " They laid special stress on the fact that the guiding principle is participation of the people in their own improvement They have gone on to state that independence has had a profound effect in revitalizing national life and activity in India "There is a sense of urgency and responsibility among the Indian leaders with which they are endeavouring to enthuse the people and capitalize upon to provide the motive power for economic development and social progress The administrative structure, which was inherited, may not be entirely suited to the requirements of the process of rapid growth, but it provides certain canons of integrity and efficiency which, if sustained, will prove of value, provided that the administration is made more resilient and is adjusted to the needs of rapid change " Further they say that "We regard community programme not as isolated phenomena but as

11 From 27 to 29 May 1954

12- The Mission reviewed the progress till the end of 1953 mainly in terms of physical achievements in 55 community project centres where work had started in October 1952 It noted that the villagers gave preference to increasing agricultural production, improvement of communications and provision of more educational facilities

integral part of a wider and more comprehensive process of development as exemplified in the first Five Year Plan of the Government of India. Not to regard them thus is to miss their real significance." Then they give a necessary warning. "It is our opinion that the awakening in recent years of villagers to their lot and their needs, and the unrest which the accompanying dissatisfaction have brought about necessitate that the tempo of improvement must be quickened if the democratic process is to succeed."

13. I have given these quotations from the U.N. mission report because it is sometimes good to see ourselves as others see us. Their report deals with the position as it was about eighteen months ago. Since then the community and national extension programmes have abundantly justified themselves and have taken root.

14. There is one other matter I should like to draw your attention to. This is the development of sports, games and athletics in India. We are far behind most other countries in this respect. The fact that our hockey team became champions in the Olympic Games¹³ is very gratifying but, by itself, it does not take us very far. Our standards are far below international standards and hardly come up to the best Asian standards. Some efforts have been recently made to improve these standards and they have met with partial success. But much more has to be done and both the Central and the State Governments should directly interest themselves in this matter, as other countries are doing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

¹³ India won a gold medal at the twelfth Olympic Games at Helsinki on 25 July 1952.

New Delhi
1 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

The chief event of the past week, or rather the fortnight since I wrote to you last, has undoubtedly been the visit of the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai to Delhi.¹ This visit took place rather suddenly and just as I was packing up to leave Delhi for a few days in the mountains. I had arranged my work and conditioned my mind for two or three weeks previously to this visit to the mountains, where I not only wanted to rest but to think quietly about certain problems. When, however, I got a message from Chou En-lai that he would be happy to accept my invitation to come to Delhi on his way back from Geneva to China, I gladly agreed to this. About two months earlier, I had sent word to him informally suggesting that he might pass through Delhi on his return journey from Geneva. This answer of his came suddenly and almost at the last moment. In a sense, the time was not appropriate and the notice very short. The weather was the hottest that Delhi has to offer just before the rains. Many of my colleagues in the Central Cabinet were on tour and away from Delhi. But it was not possible to change the date in the circumstances.

2 From another point of view, the timing of this visit, though entirely accidental, was very appropriate. It came at a critical moment in the life of the Geneva Conference, when it had taken a turn for the better, in so far as the Indo-China

1 From 25 to 28 June 1954

problem was concerned.² And yet, everything was very delicately balanced and no one could say with any certainty which side of the balance would be weighted down in the end. Also, it so happened that Chou En-lai's visit to Delhi took place at exactly the same time when Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden were visiting the President of the United States to discuss more or less the same problems.³

3. This coincidence was entirely accidental in so far as we were concerned and yet it became significant. In the same way, the holding of the conference of South East Asian Prime Ministers in Colombo also fitted in with the beginning of the Geneva Conference. That too was completely accidental and the dates had been fixed long before. That Colombo Conference, in spite of a number of difficulties we experienced there, was not only important in itself but had a considerable effect on the Geneva Conference which followed. The fact that no Asian country (except China and the Indo-China States) had been invited to the Geneva Conference made the Colombo Conference play an important role at Geneva. Thus, even though these Asian countries were not represented at Geneva directly, in another sense, they were very much present. The Colombo Conference had practically reiterated the stand taken by India in regard to Indo-China.⁴ It was, of course, well recognized in Geneva that, in this matter, India's role was

2 The military discussions for a ceasefire in Indo-China began between the Franco-Vietnamese and the Viet Minh Commands on 22 June and between the Laotian and Viet Minh Commands on 7 July 1954 after a series of preliminary talks

3 After four days of discussions, in a joint statement on 29 June 1954, Churchill and Eisenhower announced that they would continue their "united efforts for world peace and world disarmament," and "press forward immediately their plan for South East Asian defence"

4 The Colombo Conference of Prime Ministers resolved that they considered that the solution of the problem of Indo-China required that a ceasefire agreement should be reached without delay. They proposed that France should declare at the Geneva Conference that she was irrevocably committed to the complete independence of Indo-China

the important one Shri Krishna Menon's visit to Geneva,⁵ which was meant to be brief and informal, again became more significant in the circumstances. The visit continued to be informal but was prolonged, chiefly at the desire of some of the important members of the conference. There is no doubt that he played an important role behind the scenes and was partly instrumental in certain decisions that were finally taken. In effect, therefore, the lead that was originally given by India in a speech I delivered in Parliament here before these conferences met, was largely followed. Our neutral position enabled us to say much which it was not possible for either contesting party to say directly. That neutral position also enabled us to deal in an informal and friendly way with the parties concerned and thus get over the rigidity of the conference procedure. In fact, it was probably all to the good that India was not a formal member of the Geneva Conference.

4. The visit of Mr. Chou En-lai, even apart from the surrounding circumstances, was an historic event of significance. The mere fact of the two major countries of Asia meeting in this way naturally drew the attention of the world. It was evident that the Indian public sensed this significance. The welcome that Mr. Chou En-lai got in Delhi and during his brief visit to Agra was warm-hearted and affected him greatly. There was something in the air which not only the press and the politicians but even the public realized. The coming together of India and China, in spite of their differences, was a major event for Asia and, perhaps, even for the world. Few people thought that this was an attempt of either India or China to subordinate itself or its policy to the other. The point was whether, with our different approaches, there was a possibility of co-operation in many aspects of international affairs. It was clear that the future course of events in Asia, not to mention the world, would be powerfully affected by the future relationship of

5 Menon was in Geneva from 22 May to 14 June 1954

India and China. Was this to be one of hostility, or of passive toleration in a spirit of isolation, or of some measure of co-operation for certain common ends? This was not merely a matter of today, although today's problems were important, but rather of the long stretch of years to come. There was the fact of our being neighbour countries with a vast stretch of common frontier. There was also the fact of both these countries having recently emerged into freedom, though their methods and their policies had been different. Each of them having rid itself of foreign domination was trying in its own way to find itself and to recover its own individuality. There was further the obvious fact of their largeness and the inevitability of their playing an important role in the future of Asia. Both in different ways, were trying to improve themselves, gain internal strength and to develop politically, socially, and economically. All these are common factors. The uncommon factor is, and it is a major one, that China had adopted very largely the Communist way and India the parliamentary democratic way. Even though there was this major difference, there was again a common factor of both thinking in terms of raising the under-privileged and removing the big inequalities that had existed in their social structures. Another and major uncommonness in the two, which really flowed from the other uncommon factor, was India's stress on peaceful progress and China having followed a harsher and more violent course.

5. It became a major question, to which only the future could give an adequate reply, as to whether these two great and vital countries could adjust themselves to each other without coming into conflict, and could even co-operate in some measure, or was this not possible and we had to face active or passive hostility. The future of Asia was to depend on the answer to this question. Of course, there could be no unilateral answer. With all the goodwill in the world, and the desire for co-operation on the part of India, there could not be this co-operation unless China came at least half-way.

6. This realization came to me soon after the success of the

Chinese revolution and the formation of the new Chinese Government on the 1st October 1949 I visited England and the United States in October-November that year and I discussed this subject particularly with the British Foreign Minister and Mr Dean Acheson,⁶ the then Secretary of State of the United States. The question before us was the recognition of the new Chinese Government. The British Foreign Minister, Mr Bevin,⁷ agreed with me but said that we should try to function jointly in this matter. Mr Acheson partly agreed with me but pointed out that he could not go against American public opinion in regard to the recognition of the new China. Of course, the United States was tied up with Chiang Kai-shek also.

7 We did not know then how the new Chinese Government would develop and whether it was possible to have friendly relations with it. In any event, it seemed to me desirable that we should, for our part, go half way to meet it, making it perfectly clear what our own position and policy were, internally and externally. That is, our approach to China was to be friendly as well as firm. We recognized the new Chinese Government on the last day, I think, of 1949 and the U.K. and some other countries followed soon after. The Chinese Government treated us much better than they did other countries, excepting the Communist countries. Our Ambassador got on well with them, but there was always some uncertainty in my mind as to what the Chinese Government might do. There was the Tibet question. It was clear that China would establish its sovereignty over Tibet. This had been China's policy for hundreds of years, and, now that a strong Chinese State had been formed, this policy would inevitably be given effect to. We could not stop it in any way, nor indeed had we any legal justification for trying

6 For b In see Vol 2, p 155

7 Finest Bevin (1881-1951) General Secretary of Transport and General Workers Union in Britain, 1921-40, Minister of Labour, 1940-45, Foreign Secretary, 1945-51

to do so. All we could hope for was that a measure of autonomy would be left to Tibet under Chinese sovereignty.

8. It must be remembered that we had succeeded in Tibet to certain special privileges which the British had acquired there. In effect, therefore, we were successors to certain expansionist policies of the old British Government. It was not possible for us to hold on to all these privileges because no independent country would accept that position. Thus we had a small number of troops in some towns of Tibet to guard our trade routes. We could not possibly keep these troops there. Our other privileges were in regard to trade matters and communications. The real influence of India, however, was something insubstantial but important. This was the reliance to some extent of the Tibetan Government on the advice of the Indian representative, whose position was also rather vague and not wholly justifiable by treaty. The Tibetan Government relied on our man partly because this tendency was a relic from the old days of British dominance and partly because they were afraid of China coming more firmly into the picture. In the new circumstances that had arisen, this influence could not possibly be exercised. All that we could do was to use our diplomatic influence in favour of Tibetan autonomy. We did that as tactfully as we could, knowing that we could not make very much difference. I think, however, that our efforts had some influence and somewhat delayed the Chinese invasion of Tibet.

9. It is patent that we could not help Tibet in any way to resist the growth of China's power in Tibet. This was wholly outside the range of practical politics and it would have been of very doubtful legality. We explained this position to the Tibetan Government and assured them of our friendliness and of our wish to help within the obvious limitations. Gradually, the Chinese established themselves at various strategic points in Tibet and were in a position to control the Tibetan Government and its activities. They have taken care, however, not to interfere with the domestic set-up much and have not interfered at all with their social

conditions, although these are very feudal. They have naturally built roads, etc., and established airfields because communications in Tibet were very bad. There has been much talk of Chinese troops' concentrations on our frontier with Tibet. There is not much truth in this except that some Chinese troops are present on the frontier and in various parts of Tibet. The total numbers are not great and are spread out. Indeed, the chief defence of Tibet is its very difficult terrain and the inhospitable nature of the climate. It is no easy matter for very large numbers of people from outside to live there. We get news often from Kalimpong about these Chinese military preparations in Tibet. It must be remembered that Kalimpong is a nest of all kinds of spies and the information these people gather is utterly unreliable. It usually comes from some emigres' who leave Tibet.

10. Being clear in our minds as to how far we could go into Tibet and how far we could not, we concentrated on one matter which was important to us. This was our frontier with Tibet. It took weeks and even months for our forces to reach that frontier. However, on this matter we were not prepared to parley with anyone, and I declared publicly in Parliament and elsewhere that this frontier, including the MacMahon line, was a firm one and was not open to discussion. Indeed, I went further and said that, from the defence point of view, we considered the Nepal frontier with Tibet also our defence line. I said all this deliberately so that the Chinese Government might have no doubts about our attitude. I did not think it necessary to address the Chinese Government on this question because that itself would have shown some doubt on our part.

11. The behaviour of the Chinese Government towards us was, during the first two or three years, on the whole, good, though there were a number of petty instances which we found rather irritating. To begin with, also, there was the usual Communist condemnation of some things in India. At the back of their minds they thought that we were tied up still with British policy. Gradually, however, the realization came that we were following an independent policy of our

own and we took orders from nobody. This change may be dated from the date when we refused to sign the San Francisco Treaty. Since then, the behaviour of the Chinese Government was much better. So far as our Ambassadors in Peking were concerned, they were always treated with some consideration.

12 Then came the Korean war and later the armistice in Korea and the part we took in the post-armistice period. Much that was done by our representatives in Korea was not liked by the Chinese at all. But, on the whole, they did not challenge our *bonafides*. About this time, we started our talks about Tibet which ultimately led to the agreement. Most people have recognized this agreement as definitely a good thing. A few have criticized it on the basis that we have given up something which we should not have done. As a matter of fact, we have given up nothing which we held or could hold. Obviously, we cannot function within Tibet as if Tibet was under our influence. We have recognized certain obvious facts of the situation and come to understandings about trade, pilgrimage routes between India and Tibet, etc. There is no giving in at all. Two important aspects of this agreement are

- (1) that indirectly the question of our long frontier is settled; and
- (2) the principles of non-aggression and non-interference, etc., are laid down

13. I have given this rather long history of our relations with the new Chinese Government since its inception because I want you and others to bear this picture in mind. Those relations have not grown up accidentally but have resulted from a set policy pursued right from the beginning. That policy, I repeat, was one of firm but friendly approach, of holding to our policy and preserving our interest, and at the same time, to co-operate where possible with China. This policy seemed to us not only the right one in the present but the proper one in the future. China and India were not only neighbours today but were going to continue to be so and we should lay, therefore, the foundations for that future

also From the point of view of Asia that seemed to be right and from the point of view of the world this appeared to be so also Naturally, that policy could not be unilaterally pursued It depended at every step on what China did

14 The Tibetan agreement was a solid consequence of that policy It represented a friendly approach of both countries to this question Previously, the Korean truce, resulting from our initiative at the United Nations, was also a consequence of that policy It is doubtful if there would have been a Korean truce but for India's initiative In regard to Indo-China, I began by making certain statements in Parliament and followed them up in the Colombo Conference The resolutions of that conference became one of the major factors to be considered at Geneva Because of the important part that India was playing in these matters, the informal visit of V K Krishna Menon to Geneva itself became a major event and in fact made a difference to the deliberations there It may be said that the turn for the better that took place in regard to Indo-China towards the end was partly due to our efforts

15 It was in this context of past and present events that Chou En-lai came to Delhi. We had long discussions daily We talked through interpreters and everything had to be taken down so that it might be translated This took time Anyway, this had the advantage of our having a fairly full record of all that was said Right from the beginning, there was a lack of rigidity about our talks and the atmosphere was friendly He told me that he was not well-acquainted with most of the Asian countries—meaning thereby Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, as well as the Western Asian countries—and would like me to tell him about them He also said more than once that India was economically and industrially more advanced than China I mention this to show that he took up no superior attitude at all in any matter He was exceedingly receptive and wanted to know about India and these other countries He was particularly anxious, of course, for the friendship and co-operation of India He felt that India and China had an important rôle to play in Asia

and that it was essential for them to co-operate for this purpose. He realized that in regard to some of the countries of Asia we were in a much better position to know about them and to have their confidence. I pointed out to him that many of these countries of Asia were a little afraid of these two giants, China and India. So far as we in India were concerned, we were anxious to remove all fears and apprehensions, even from Pakistan. Our people and our interests were spread out in many parts of Africa also, and the policy we had laid down for our people was that they must in no way exploit the people of Africa, they must help them and if they were not wanted in Africa by the Africans, they would have no place there. Chou En-lai said that that was exactly the policy he wanted to pursue in regard to all his neighbouring countries. He wanted to convince them that China had no aggressive designs on them and the Chinese living abroad must behave properly. In regard to these Chinese overseas he said something which was new to me. Previously, all Governments of China had claimed the Chinese overseas as their nationals, whether they wanted to be so or not. Chou En-lai said that he was quite clear that the Chinese living abroad should either accept the nationality of that country and cut themselves away from China, politically speaking, or if they remained Chinese nationals, they should in no way interfere with the politics of the other country. All this indicated to me his extreme desire to develop friendly relations with these various countries and to remove all apprehensions from their minds. All this can, of course, be clever strategy looking to the distant future. No one can judge of inner motives. But it seemed to me that Chou En-lai was quite honest about what he said. His mind was concentrated on developing his own country industrially and otherwise and not getting entangled in any difficulties. In particular, he was always thinking of Asia and China's and India's responsibility to Asia.

16. His talk was wholly different from the normal approach of the average Communist, which is full of certain slogans and clichés. He hardly mentioned communism or the Soviet

Union or European politics. I explained to him about our relations with Pakistan. I spoke to him at some length about our peaceful struggle for independence under Gandhiji's leadership and how this had conditioned us. Our policies had developed from that struggle and we proposed to follow them. We avoided deliberately condemning any country or any people, even though we disagreed with them, because we felt that peace required a peaceful approach. We did not wish to interfere with other people or their policies which had developed under different circumstances and had been conditioned in other ways. I saw no reason, however, why we should not co-operate in many matters with other countries. It is interesting to note that Chou En-lai said that it was a good thing that we had remained in the Commonwealth and that we should continue to do so, because it was good for us and good for world peace. That remark of his shows his realistic appreciation of the situation which many of our own people have not fully grasped yet, because they live in a world of out of date slogans and have little understanding of today.

17 I raised the question with him of "international communism" and the functioning of Communist parties in other countries, including India. I pointed out the fear of what was called "international communism" and how this was exploited by interested countries. I also indicated how Communist parties created mischief. He agreed with me, partly at least, and said that this fear and apprehension should go, and as for local Communist parties they were often very foolish and lacked understanding.

18 I have indicated a number of subjects which I discussed with him. As our conversations proceeded, they became more friendly and uninhibited and so I brought in other subjects also. We started, however, with the Geneva Conference and he gave me his version of what had happened.

there.⁸ About Korea there had been a complete deadlock. He had even suggested, he told me, that the conference should meet again to consider the Korean question. Several countries belonging to the United Nations group had agreed with him. But the United States had definitely negated any further consideration and so the matter had ended there. He complained of the U.S. attitude, but there was no bitterness in his complaint. He said that the U.S. had no positive proposals. Often, in regard to Indo-China, they neither said yes nor no to a proposal, but merely put in some reservations. It seemed to him that what the U.S. wanted was no settlement anywhere. The U.K. and France were certainly desirous of a settlement, but pressure was often brought to bear upon them by the U.S. The Bao Dai group was also rigid, but Laos and Cambodia were co-operative in search of a settlement.

19. In Indo-China the position now is that armistice talks are going on. There is a time-limit to them which will expire, I think within a fortnight or so. All the parties concerned, he said, had come very near to an agreement about an armistice.⁹ This included France. He was not sure, however, of the Bao Dai Government. But his real fear was from the U.S. He hoped, however, that the armistice would go through and then they could proceed to consider a wider settlement.

8 On 25 June 1954, Zhou Enlai told Nehru that on the Korean question they had not reached any agreement but on the Indo-China question, agreement was reached on Vietnam in principle on a military armistice. The second agreement was on a military armistice in Laos and Kampuchea. He added that the political questions had not yet been discussed.

9 On 21 July, the Geneva Conference ended successfully with the signing of separate ceasefire agreements covering Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, thereby bringing the eight-year old war in Indo-China to an end.

20. So far as Laos and Cambodia were concerned, he repeated that he wanted them completely independent, with no foreign intervention. His sole anxiety was that foreign bases, i.e., American bases, should not be placed there. In both Cambodia and Laos there are what are called resistance movements. In Cambodia this movement is not strong, but in Laos it is fairly strong and, oddly enough, it is under the leadership of some members of the Royal family.¹⁰ However, the Chinese Government was willing to recognize the present Royal Governments of Laos and Cambodia. They hoped that internal settlements would take place peacefully with the resistance movements and, at a later date, elections, etc., might be held.

21. The new Prime Minister of France, M. Mendes-France, has given an assurance that he will have an armistice in Indo-China within a month, that is by the 20 July, or else he will resign. That is a brave assurance to give. It is clear that the people of France want an armistice in Indo-China and are heartily sick of war there. The overwhelming majority that Mendes-France got in the French Chamber is evidence of this. It is highly likely, therefore, that an armistice will be arranged. The only real obstacle is the attitude of the United States. But, in view of the overwhelming French opinion, it is doubtful if the U.S. will bring too much pressure to bear on the French Government. Indeed, the French Government would fall if it acceded to that pressure.

22. If there is an armistice, then the next question is that of having some kind of an international supervisory commission. Whenever this has been mentioned, India's name has always been there. Indeed, India's name has usually been mentioned as chairman of that commission. Our attitude throughout has been that we are prepared to take up

¹⁰ Despite the recognition given to Laos as an independent State within the French Union under the Franco-Laotian treaty signed on 19 July 1949, the guerilla resistance had continued under the leadership of Prince Souphanou Vong who formed a rebel "Free Laotian Government."

responsibility in the cause of peace, but we cannot give a definite answer till we see the full picture of the armistice and we know the obligations and responsibilities which we might have to shoulder. Also, of course, that the proposal must come jointly from the contesting parties and must be in the nature of a settlement. It is by no means clear to me yet, and Chou En-lai could not throw much light either, about these responsibilities of the commission. They will be different from those of the commission on Korea. There will be no question of prisoners of war as in Korea. Nevertheless, it will be a delicate and ticklish affair. I have made it clear also that we are prepared to co-operate with any other countries on this commission.

23 I pointed out to Chou En-lai that since the principle of armistice had been agreed to, it seemed to me undesirable for major operations and killing to go on. He said he entirely agreed and he hoped that there would be no major operations, but the French were continuing bombing in a big way and that itself was a major operation.

24. I suggested to Chou En-lai that it would be desirable for the Chinese Government to have closer relations with the United Kingdom and to exchange diplomatic representatives. He said that they had decided to send a Charge d'Affaires¹¹ soon to London. Later, he might be followed by an Ambassador.

25. There has been a long argument going on between the United States and the Chinese Government, through other parties, about some hundreds of Americans, chiefly missionaries, who have been detained in China and not allowed to

11 Huan Xiang (Huan Hsiang) (b. 1910) Editor-in-Chief, *The Daily Front*, 1937-45; Director, Western Europe and Africa Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1949-1954, member, Chinese delegation to the Geneva Conference, 1954; Charge d'Affaires, London, 1954-1962, Ambassador to Belgium and Luxembourg, 1976-1978. The announcement of his appointment to London was made on 11 September 1954.

go back ¹² Chou En-lai's answer to this was that the Americans have detained several thousands of Chinese students who were in the United States and have refused to permit them to go back to their homeland ¹³ There the matter stands But the Chinese Government has now agreed to allow the Americans in China to correspond with their people in the United States

26. - Chou En-lai asked me what we could do about having some kind of agreement about future co-operation. He hinted at Burma and Indonesia also joining it He did not specify exactly what he was aiming at and wanted me to suggest something I told him that, for the present, we would be issuing a joint statement which would be a step in this co-operation as it would indicate our joint views It might be possible for a similar statement to be issued from Rangoon after he had seen U Nu there Later, Indonesia might be approached diplomatically Any further step at this juncture would not be advisable We must wait for the settlement in Indo-China and then give thought to this matter He agreed

27. I mentioned to Chou En-lai Eden's proposal about an eastern Locarno He did not know much about the Locarno Treaty and so I gave him a brief account of it ¹⁴ Details apart, it was an agreement between opposing and contesting parties for the maintenance of peace. I told him that this approach seemed to me a much better one than the American approach of having a South East Asia organization of one group threatening the other It might be difficult to make

¹² On 21 June 1954, the U S Government claimed that there were 93 American civilians and 29 servicemen under arrest in People's China

¹³ The Chinese, on 15 June, claimed that there were more than 5,000 students in the U S who had been refused exit permits and told that if they violated this order they would be fined up to \$ 5,000 or imprisoned for a period up to five years or both

¹⁴ On 25 June 1954 By the Locarno Pact of 1925, Germany, Belgium, France Great Britain, and Italy had entered into mutual guarantees against aggression

any commitment at this stage. But, I suggested to him, that it would be desirable to say that Eden's proposal deserved consideration. He agreed.

28 Chou En-lai asked me when I would go to China and said that he would like me to do so this year. I told him that I would love to go there. But it is difficult to fix any date at present. I would have to think of Parliament sessions and, apart from that, it was better to wait for an armistice and subsequent developments in Indo-China before I paid a visit to Peking.

29. I have given above a fairly detailed account of my talks with Chou En-lai because I am anxious that you should be in full possession of this background. We are playing, almost against our will, an important part in international affairs and, to some extent, the maintenance of peace in future might well depend on us. Therefore, we should be perfectly clear of the policies we are pursuing. These policies have been repeatedly stated in broad outline in Parliament and elsewhere and there is no doubt that they are approved of by the majority of the people in India. But, sometimes, there is what appears to me to be very unintelligent criticism. It is necessary, therefore, for us to be clear in our minds. Our policy externally is to prevent war because that is the primary consideration today. If war comes, then all other policies are swept away and we jump into a dark and unknown abyss. In furthering this policy, we seek to maintain friendly relations with all countries, but inevitably, support some action or oppose some other. What happens in Europe does not concern us so intimately, except that everything that may lead to war concerns us. What happens in Asia concerns us much more and we are part of it. Asia is in a state of turmoil and change, political, social, and economic. The only part of Asia which is at present rather dead from this point of view is Western Asia, and I would include Western Pakistan in this. Of course, the people are not dead and their minds too are agitated, but, for the moment, there is nothing important happening there. In Eastern Pakistan something did happen during the last

elections, but it has been ruthlessly suppressed. Whether that suppression will succeed or not, the next few months or a year will show. It cannot, of course, ultimately succeed.

30 We may divide the world today, very roughly, in five parts

- (1) The United States and some countries fully echoing its policy, such as Turkey, Philippines, Thailand, etc.
- (2) Some Western European countries like England and France, which are closely associated with American policy but disagree with it often and at present are unable to follow it fully.
- (3) The Communist countries, and chiefly the Soviet Union and China
- (4) India and, to some extent, Burma and Indonesia, whose policy is basically neutral. Chou En-lai often referred to the South East Asia pattern of countries, meaning countries following a neutral policy. He said that Laos and Cambodia should accept this South East Asia pattern
- (5) Other countries, such as those in Western Asia or South America, which have no fixed policy of their own and are inclined to function under pressure.

31. The policy of the United States during the past few years has been a record of repeated failure. The reason for this is obvious, because the United States refuses to accept facts such as the new Government of China. It is because of this chiefly that the Korean war took place and the Indo-China war has been prolonged. There is little doubt that there would have been a settlement in Indo-China at least a year or two ago, and a settlement more favourable to France than is now likely, but for American opposition. Mr. Casey, the Australian Foreign Minister, asked me as to what American policy was. He said he did not know, neither did I, except for the negative fact of being opposed to communism. That negative policy had led to the strengthening of communism in many places in Asia especially, because it had made the United States line up with colonial and reactionary regimes. The staunchest supporters of American

policy today are Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai. In North Africa, in Morocco and Tunisia also, colonialism had been supported.

32 There is no American policy today as far as one can see, except war or an intensification of 'cold war' which itself would lead to shooting war. They do not want to accept a ceasefire in Indo-China except on the basis of surrender of Viet Minh. It so happens that Viet Minh is both politically and militarily dominant in Indo-China. And everybody admits that, if there was an election in Vietnam, Viet Minh would get 95 per cent votes. Obviously, Viet Minh is not going to surrender, much less will China surrender, on this issue. Therefore, the alternative to not having a settlement is war, and war not on a limited scale.

33 England and France have reacted against this American policy and, in spite of their close association with the U.S. and their dislike of and fear of the Communist parties, they have refused to line up with the United States on this issue. The Western alliance, therefore, is, to some extent, cracking up. The United States are angry and feel frustrated. That is a natural result of following a wrong policy. And yet, they cannot change that policy because of the public opinion they had themselves created. McCarthy, though an extreme case, represents that public opinion to a large extent.

34. In this conflict of ideas and policies, it is obvious that India cannot support the American viewpoint. It can, however, go some way in supporting the efforts and the approach of the United Kingdom to bring about a settlement. It is often said that it is no good relying on the Communist parties as they will not keep to any agreement. If that is so, then it is no good talking to them and one has to make up one's mind to destroy them. That, indeed, is the basic thought in the minds of certain dominant American groups. They still say that the People's Government of China must be destroyed and Chiang Kai-shek is their symbol for the attack on China. All this seems an emotional reaction which has little to do with present-day affairs or realities.

35. The recent developments in Guatemala¹⁵ have not brought much credit to either the United States or the United Nations.¹⁶ We do not know all the facts. But there can be no doubt whatever that there has been aggression from outside on Guatemala and that this aggression has been encouraged by the United States. For some months past a violent campaign against Guatemala has been carried on in the United States on the ground that it was going communist. What the strength of the Communist Party in Guatemala is, I do not know. But some well-known observers, including an American journalist, who went there, have said that it would be quite wrong to call the Guatemala Government communist. What that Government has tried to do is to better the condition of its peasantry. The land in Guatemala is practically owned by the United Fruit Corporation of the U.S. This owns three million acres of concessions, apart from railways, steamships, etc. A great part of this land is deliberately kept fallow by the United Fruit Corporation. The Guatemala Government passed a law¹⁷ which was far from drastic. This law applied only to uncultivated land and holdings over 225 acres. This land was to be given to the landless peasantry. This law, which is not very much different from what we are doing in India, was called communistic and the United Fruit Corporation, supported by the U.S. Government, opposed it violently.

15 In the fight between the Communists and the "army of liberation" represented by the anti-Communist forces, the latter emerged victorious. The Junta Government, constituted on 29 June 1954, put all known Communists under arrest.

16 On 25 June 1954, the Security Council voted against the adoption of the Guatemalan complaint of aggression on its agenda because of the U.S. opposition.

17 On 25 February 1953, the Guatemalan Government, after expropriating 234,000 out of 300,000 acres of land owned by the American United Fruit Company, began its distribution among 23,000 peasants in November 1953. This Government was overthrown in June 1954.

36 Apart from the merits of this dispute, the fact remains that there was aggression and that foreign aircraft coming from Honduras and apparently supplied by the United Fruit Corporation¹⁸ bombed the civil population of Guatemala.¹⁹ The matter was taken up to the Security Council of the U.N. This Council refused even to put the subject on its agenda. The voting in the Security Council was significant. Five, headed by the U.S., were against its inclusion in the agenda; four, including New Zealand, were in favour of this; and two, England and France, remained neutral. Their neutrality showed their disapproval of American policy in Guatemala. I had a telegram from the Foreign Minister of Guatemala²⁰ asking for India's moral support. We could do nothing and we had no desire to get entangled in Central American politics. Privately, we asked our delegate at the U.N. to point out to the other delegates there that we viewed this aggression and bombing of civilian population with great concern and the prestige of the United Nations was involved. This is a far more obvious case of aggression on a small country than Korea or Indo-China. It will be difficult for the United States or for the United Nations to talk of aggression in future when they have, in a sense, connived at this aggression on a small country. Indeed, the whole purpose of the U.N. Charter is frustrated.

37. There has been a great deal of resentment in India over certain steps taken in Pondicherry by the French authorities there.²¹ A small number, about fifty or so, of soldiers were

18 The Corporation owned about 600,000 acres of cultivated land in the five Central American republics, with its own network of railway, radio communication and tramway systems

19 On 19 June 1954

20 Guillermo Tonello Garrido

21 The arrival on 16 June 1954 of fifty-six French armed military personnel led to protests on the following day by the Bharat Yuvak Sangh and the All India Peace Council

landed there. Repression continues there and it appears that some kind of trenches have been dug on the borders. All this is very irritating. Some people have said that the talks which we had in Paris were just a device for gaining time to strengthen the French position in India. I do not think this is correct. These talks were sincere enough in the sense that a settlement was desired. But the position of the French Government has been very peculiar during the last few months. The result has been that the local authorities in Pondicherry have been given a free hand and the French colonial authorities are even worse than the British colonial authorities used to be in India. The landing of a few soldiers or the digging of trenches does not make too much difference to the situation, except that this might prevent an internal upheaval, or volunteers marching into Pondicherry, as happened at Yanam. The basic problem remains and will have to be solved before long. The new French Premier is naturally full of Indo-China at present. We, in India, are also indirectly concerned with possible developments in Indo-China. Looking at this picture, therefore, in broad perspective, it would be unwise to come into direct conflict with France at present, without making another effort at a settlement. For the moment, therefore, we have tightened up our permit system and reduced our petrol supply.

38 I have given you a broad review at some length of world developments and tried to indicate India's part in them. It surprises me greatly that in this context some groups and parties in India cannot think of anything except some petty opposition to Government. They talk of *morchas* and no-tax campaigns and so-called *satyagraha* and the like. Apart from all this being singularly out of place in a democratic State, it shows how very limited is the outlook of these groups. They can neither understand the present nor have any vision of the future. They are frustrated and engrossed in their petty complaints and in finding some way or other, whether it is justified or not, in creating trouble for Government. That is not the way democracy functions.

1 July, 1954

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39 I have written this letter at Mashobra in the Simla Hills. I am sending this to Delhi for despatch. If copies of this letter are sent back to me here for signature, that will mean some days' delay. Therefore, I am suggesting that this letter should be issued from Delhi without my signature. My Principal Private Secretary will sign it. I hope you will forgive me for this.

Yours sincerely,

New Delhi
6 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

You must have received a report from your representatives of the Community Projects Development Commissioners' Conference which was held recently at Ootacamund. This conference, from all accounts, was a success and brought out vividly the progress made by the community projects and the national extension service. There can be no doubt that these have taken root and have caught the public imagination. I cannot say that this is so all over India, but the general average is high and in some places it is excellent. There are a few States which are still backward in this respect.

2. This conference also showed that the officers in charge of this work, or most of them, have become enthusiastic about it and are keen to show results. That is a very hopeful sign and their enthusiasm is conveyed to others working with them and helps in creating the proper atmosphere for a kind of work which depends so much on public support.

3. I have read with interest the recommendations made by this conference¹ and I would like to draw your attention to them also. Among these recommendations is that the people's participation in the programme should be institutionalized at the village level. This can be done either

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

1. The conference called for "institutional pattern of people's organizations" for the implementation of the programme of community projects, welcomed the participation of voluntary organizations in developmental works and suggested that good work done by any individual on these projects should be commended.

through the existing panchayats or through *ad hoc* village development councils.

4. The whole success of this programme depends upon the training of various categories of personnel. Particular attention is necessary for village school teachers in the multipurpose vistas of rural development, village leaders, village craftsmen, women workers and subordinate engineering personnel.

5. This conference decided to extend this programme to the whole of India, that is, to every village in India, by the end of the second Five Year Plan. This, you will no doubt realize, is a tremendous undertaking. It means our reaching and including in our programme about 80,000 villages every year, and supplying trained personnel for them. There is often talk about money being lacking. That, of course, is a hindrance. But the real problem before us is not that of money but of having a sufficient number of trained people in various categories. We shall require them by the hundred thousand, including village workers. Training takes some time and some type of training takes a considerable time. Therefore, unless we set about this matter quickly and in a planned way, we shall be held up even though we might have adequate funds.

6. It has been suggested that quarterly reports of the progress of community projects administration and the national extension service should be prepared and sent to me through the Chief Ministers. I hope that you will be able to arrange this. The quarterly report need not be a very detailed one, but it should give the relevant facts. A half-yearly report might be a fuller one.

7. The national extension service is gradually creating a new type of administration at the lower levels. Once this is established, a major change will have taken place not only at that level, but in providing links to the various higher levels.

8. This work covers numerous activities. There must, therefore, be the fullest co-ordination at all levels. The

Bombay Government has recently issued a circular to all its district and other officers pointing out that the community development and the national extension service programme is a programme of all the welfare Departments and not of a single Department. The administrative organizations set up at the State, district and project level for the implementation of the programme are not intended to work as or develop into a separate Department. It must, therefore, be realized that we are not just doing some developmental work in a particular Department, but the whole machinery of Government is geared up to these various activities. In order to have this co-ordination, usually the Chief Minister is in charge at the top and the Chief Secretary is in charge at the secretariat level. In the district, the District Magistrate or the Collector is made responsible.

9 This kind of co-ordination naturally tends towards centralization. That is partly necessary and partly it cannot be helped. It should be remembered, however, that the work must essentially be decentralized also and it should draw vitality from the village level. Policy will be laid down at the top, but the execution will be at the lowest level. There should be adequate delegation of powers to prevent delays and hold-ups.

10 I should like you to consider this matter in the manner that the Bombay Government has done and, in so far as possible, to adopt the same procedure.

11. I would repeat that the conception of development work should not be that of some odd Department of Government, whether in the State or at the Centre. This really covers practically all Departments and, therefore, we must look at it as something pervading the whole business of administration. Only in that way can we build up a welfare State.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
16 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, much has happened which deserves notice. But the outstanding event, from our point of view, has been the inauguration of the Bhakra-Nangal canal system.¹ The importance of this event was recognized by the vast number of people who gathered at Nangal and who rejoiced at the prospect of the life-giving waters spreading out over parts of East Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan. This became a symbol to us of the gradual fulfilment of the great plans that we have laid down and the mighty projects for which we have laboured. Thus it became an event of significance in the present and of promise for the future. East Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan will profit by this, but the whole of India can well rejoice at this further stage in our journey being reached.

2 Our joy and sense of fulfilment have been marred somewhat by the virulent propaganda in Pakistan over the canal water issue.² I do not propose to give the long story of our negotiations on this subject here. I spoke at some length

¹ It was opened on 8 July by Nehru and was expected to irrigate 6 to 10 million acres of land.

² It was suggested by the Pakistan Government and the press that India, by reducing suddenly the flow of water down the Sutlej, Beas and Ravi would convert the food-producing areas of Bahawalpur and the Punjab into a vast and arid desert.

in Nangal itself and my speech was reported.³ I should like to say, however, that in this matter we have proceeded with extreme patience and far greater caution than I myself am perhaps capable of. It has never been our desire to injure Pakistan, much less to make large numbers of people there suffer. Soon after the partition, we made this clear and there was an Agreement with Pakistan dated the 4th May 1948⁴ which was supposed to govern our subsequent activities and approach to this problem. According to this, East Punjab was entitled gradually to take more water from the Sutlej, giving time to Pakistan to make good the deficiency by constructing various links joining up their canal system. It was obvious that there was plenty of water in the Punjab rivers for both India and Pakistan and that most of it was not utilized and poured out into the Arabian sea. There was thus no lack of water if only proper arrangements could be made for its utilization. So far as India was concerned, however, there was only one possibility for us and that was the Sutlej. If the Sutlej water was denied to us, then there was no hope for East Punjab or Pepsu or Rajasthan. We proposed, therefore, right from the beginning, that we should approach this problem in a human and reasonable spirit and decide it with the help of the engineers from both countries. Pakistan did not co-operate. Ultimately, the World Bank came into the picture and we accepted its mediation. We agreed not to exercise our right as agreed upon in the Treaty of May 4, 1948, to reduce the supply of waters to Pakistan so long as we were discussing this matter with the World Bank. At that time, we expected these preliminary discussions to last six months or so. As a matter of fact, they lasted two and a half years.

3 On 8 July, Nehru gave an assurance that India looked upon the canal waters issue not from the legal but from the human point of view, and would therefore not reduce the quantum of water that Pakistan was receiving. India was prepared to help Pakistan to the best of her ability to make good their own canal system so that they might have their usual supply of water.

4 See Vol 1, p 118

3. Ultimately, however, the World Bank produced a scheme⁵ which cast a heavy burden on us in terms of money, but, at any rate, it was a reasonable scheme dividing the waters of the Punjab rivers and avoiding disputes in the future. We accepted this scheme and we were prepared to shoulder the burden which might have amounted to Rs 60 crores or so. Pakistan at first practically rejected this scheme. Under pressure from the World Bank, they modified their attitude slightly without accepting the scheme.⁶ It was clear that Pakistan, as usual, was following delaying tactics. We had waited already for six years. And, meanwhile, the Bhakra-Nangal project was progressing rapidly and one stage had been completed. We informed the Bank and Pakistan that we considered ourselves free now from the assurance we had given previously about not reducing the supply of water to Pakistan. We would, however, gladly have any further talks about a settlement. Thus, we freed ourselves formally from the assurance we had given.

4. Under pressure of events, Pakistan then said that they accepted the principles of the World Bank proposal but could not give their final answer till they saw the entire picture as it emerged from them. Again, under the guise of acceptance, they kept the door open to reject. That is the position now.

5. As a matter of fact, we have even now, not reduced the supply to Pakistan, though we are entitled to do so. Because

5. According to the plan submitted by the World Bank on 5 February 1954, the waters of the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab rivers were to be made available for the exclusive use of Pakistan, while the waters of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers could be used by India. India was also asked to bear the cost of construction of link canals in Pakistan amounting to Rs 40 to 60 crores.

6. In May 1954, on being asked by the Bank either to accept or reject the proposals within a week so that India may be free to develop and utilize her own water resources, the Pakistan Government replied that before they finally accepted or rejected the scheme, detailed technical study was necessary to understand the full implications of the plan.

of the failure of rains for some time the water level of the river was low and both India and Pakistan suffered proportionately. Now the level has risen again and there is no lack of water.

6 Pakistan has taken up a wholly unreasonable attitude⁷ and the press of Pakistan has been full of threats, including mention of war.⁸ Because of their own internal difficulties, evidently they wish to divert their people's minds towards hatred of India. That has been the basic policy of Pakistan throughout these years. Instead of trying to build up their country and their own strength, they have relied on this negative attitude and have sought military aid from the United States of America. A very large number of American experts and advisers are now in all parts of western Pakistan.

7. In East Pakistan, there is outward quiet but bitter resentment and sullenness. East Pakistan is governed now practically as a colony of the West.

8 While Pakistan becomes more and more entangled in its internal problems and relies on help from outside, in India the sensation of self-reliance, of progress and building up becomes stronger from day to day. Bhakra-Nangal was a symbol of this. A few days ago, I went to the U P to open a

7 On 10 July, the Pakistan Government sent notes of protest to the Indian Government and the World Bank stating that the opening of the new Bhakra canal system was a "clear violation of international commitments" and "a deliberate unilateral repudiation" of the agreement of March 1952.

8 Karachi's three English daily newspapers, the *Dawn*, the *Morning News* and *The Times of Karachi*, wrote on 9 July in protest against the opening of the Bhakra Nangal canal system and called for action against India.

new railway line⁹ and to see the beginnings of the Rihand project¹⁰ in Mirzapur district. This is going to supply hydro-electric power as well as water for irrigation. There is going to be in these hilly regions a large and very lovely lake about 30 miles in length. That area of U.P. is a peculiarly backward area which has been neglected in the past. I was, therefore, particularly happy that at last this was going to be developed.

9. Another important development has been our decision to decontrol rice.¹¹ This indicates the great progress made in our food position. Only two or three years ago, our position was almost desperate and we had to import four and a half million tons of foodgrains from abroad. It is true that good harvests have helped us. But it is equally true that our normal production has increased considerably, chiefly from more intensive work. Last year when I was in England, I said that we had turned the corner in so far as the food question was concerned.¹² I was criticized for this in the English newspapers. As a matter of fact, we have done even better than I expected. We have definitely come out of the wood, but that does not mean we can be complacent. We have to be wary and wide awake and continue our efforts to increase our food production. Among the favourable factors, which are seldom taken into consideration in calculating increased

9 On 12 July, Nehru opened the Chunar-Robertsganj-Churk railway line which was 50 miles long and was expected to facilitate the exploitation of mineral and forest wealth.

10 Inaugurated on 14 July, the Rihand project, expected to be completed by 1960, was estimated to produce 2,40,000 kilowatts of hydro-electric energy.

11 From 10 July, the control on rice was removed except in Jammu and Kashmir. The inter-State movement of rice was also allowed.

12 Nehru had said in London on 10 June 1953 that in the past few months India's balance of payments position had improved and she had also done well on the food front. "We hope to be practically self-sufficient within a measured period of time."

production in food, is the work being done in community projects and national extension areas. We are now at work in this way in about 50,000 villages with 36.5 million population. The results being obtained here are good and the productivity per acre is increasing.

10 We have to remember that the targets we aim at have to be such as to be adequate even when seasonal conditions are adverse. We have also to remember the growth of population. Further, our people should eat more than they have thus far done. Under the Plan, we provided only 13½ ozs per head of the population. We should provide 16 ozs per head and increase the production and consumption of protective foods, that is, foods other than cereals. At present our diet is not balanced or health-giving. We have also to increase the production of industrial raw materials for our expanding industries, such as cotton, jute, oil-seeds, etc.

11. Prices of foodgrains have fallen¹³ and we should welcome this. This fall has brought relief to a vast section of the population. About a year ago, there was no appreciable fall in spite of the increase in production. This was a bad sign and made us a little anxious. The present downward tendency must therefore be welcomed. This brings not only relief but increased purchasing power for most of our people and the cost structure of our industries, both big and small, will ultimately show a reduction. There will be expanding internal markets.

12 Some apprehension has been expressed on behalf of agriculturists because of the fall in prices.¹⁴ There does not appear to me to be any adequate reason for this apprehension. There is not likely to be any greater fall and

13 The wholesale price index of foodgrains fell from 470.3 in the middle of May to 338.0 in the third week of June.

14 For example, on 24 June, Alghuraj Shastri, President of the U P Congress Committee, asked the Government to evolve some method by which the prices of agricultural produce would not fall below the fixed minimum as this would hurt the agriculturists.

agriculturists will gain by increased production and an increased demand for their produce. The fall in prices will also affect some articles consumed by them, such as cloth

13 It has to be remembered that we intend to spend large sums in this and the next year on developmental projects. More than fifty per cent of the expenditure of the Five Year Plan will be incurred during these two years and this will no doubt create increased demands for food and other articles

14 Some people have suggested that Government should keep up prices of foodgrains by purchasing larger stocks of them and offering them at specified prices. But such price support policies are difficult and burdensome in any country, much more so in an agricultural country like India. The obvious course appears to be to increase developmental expenditure greatly when prices fall. We must, therefore, aim now at an increase in developmental expenditure, that is, an addition to what has already been provided. This can safely be done now without any fear of adverse results

15 I have often referred to the community projects and the national extension service. Last month there was a conference of Development Commissioners at Ootacamund. This conference was an outstanding success and showed the consistent progress that was being made in a great part of the country. The Commissioners came to the decision that the entire country should be covered with the national extension service by the end of the second Five Year Plan. This is a tremendous undertaking. It means that we should cover about 75,000 villages every year from now onwards

16 It must be remembered that the Five Year Plan is not merely a Plan for some schemes of development but represents an integrated outlook for the overall development of India. The community projects and the national extension service, even more so, represent this integrated outlook in so far as our rural areas are concerned, that is, 80 per cent of India. The success of these schemes depends entirely on the quality of the workers employed there and therefore their training becomes important. Officials are

taking an important part in these schemes and their work has been good. But the entire scheme depends upon the co-operation of non-officials or rather of the people at large. It is because this co-operation has been forthcoming that we can look forward with hope. It is necessary, however, to train these non-officials.

17. In all planning a measure of centralization is inevitable. But in the community schemes and the national extension service we have to aim at a great deal of decentralization so as to make local agencies responsible for implementation.

18. In view of the progress being made in this national extension service, the need for proper co-ordination at all levels has become more important than ever. I drew your attention some days ago to a circular issued by the Government of Bombay providing for this co-ordination.¹⁵ In this circular it was pointed out that the community development and the national extension service programme is a programme for all the welfare departments and not of a single department. Indeed it is the basic programme to convert India into a welfare State, working from the bottom upwards. I hope that your Government will also integrate all these activities from this point of view and have frequent reports from all your various departments to indicate the progress made in this integration. This applies of course to the Central Ministries also.

19. In Geneva, the various conferences have again begun to function at a high level. The Foreign Ministers have gathered there and almost last minute efforts are being made to find some way out. M. Mendes-France, the French Prime Minister, took the brave step of declaring that he would resign from his prime ministership if there was no ceasefire in Indo-China within a month. That month expires in another four days. On the whole, there appears to be hope that there will be a ceasefire and the present arguments and

¹⁵ See *ante*, pp. 603-604.

strong statements are meant to get the best terms possible. But there can be no certainty till we have actually seen the final result. The real difficulty in the way of a ceasefire and a settlement in Indo-China has been the attitude of the U.S.A. It appears that this has been somewhat toned down as a result of discussions with Mr. Eden and M. Mendes-France. The American attitude now is that they will not come in the way of such a settlement, although they might not themselves be parties to it.

20. Meanwhile, some developments have taken place in Indo-China¹⁶ and the new Vietnam Government is adopting a somewhat aggressive line¹⁷. In Vietnam there are at least two large private armies¹⁸ belonging to some sectarian organizations. There is thus some possibility of trouble.

21. In the French settlements, the position grows more tense. The French Administration in Mahe has practically collapsed¹⁹ and the Administrator²⁰ has decided to hand over authority to representatives of the people there. Thus nearly all the isolated enclaves have shed French rule and only Pondicherry and Karaikal remain. There has been a good deal of repression there. In view of the very delicate situation

16 There was a change of government in South Vietnam. Prince Buu Loe resigned on 16 June and Bao Dai invited Ngo Dinh-Diem, a leading Roman Catholic, to take office as Prime Minister.

17 Both Bao Dai and Ngo Dinh-Diem strongly criticized on 18 June the proposals put forward by the Viet Minh delegation at the Geneva Conference.

18 The three groups with private armies wielding political and military authority were the two religious sects, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao, and the Binh Xuyen also dominated the police and gambling establishments in Saigon.

19 With the intensification of the movement for merger of Mahe with the Indian Union, the French administrator in Mahe, despite an official announcement on 15 July in Paris that the administration of the settlement would be withdrawn to Pondicherry, transferred control of the settlement to the leader of the local liberation movement.

20 M. Deschamps

at Geneva and Indo-China, it was not very easy for the French Government to pay attention to other problems

22 In Goa, there has been intense repression by the Portuguese authorities and a considerable number of prominent citizens have been arrested ²¹ There has been mounting resentment against this all round Goa, more especially among the *emigre* Goans The Government of India have taken a number of steps to restrict movement into and from Goa and other steps are in contemplation ²²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21 Many Goan nationalists were arrested on 18 June and their houses searched.

22 On 27 June 1954

New Delhi
19 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

I have written to you repeatedly about the National Plan Loan and you have no doubt taken all necessary steps to help. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that up to the 29th June only about 30,000 persons made applications for Rs. 5,000/- and under. These applications totalled Rs. 2½ crores out of the then total of Rs. 89 crores. The figure must have gone up somewhat since then. (The total number of subscribers on 29th June was 33,315).

2. This shows that relatively very few persons have thus far subscribed. Our approach to a great number of people has not succeeded so far. Even the success that we have obtained is chiefly in the States of Bombay and Madras. The other States are far behind.

3. I confess to feeling disappointed at this lack of response from large numbers of persons, although I am quite convinced that there is a good deal of money in the country. The question is how to reach it. Are our methods of publicity and approach good, or, are we working in some routine way without really making an impression on the people? I should like you to consider this. Sometimes, I have found that District Magistrates and others have not taken much interest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

New Delhi
28 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

I am sending you two copies of some of the important resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee at the recent meeting held at Ajmer.¹ These resolutions, except for two,² deal with internal problems and indicate broadly the general trend of our future policy and also the kind of work we have to do in future.

2 I would particularly invite your attention to the approach to planning which is indicated in these resolutions and the particular stress laid on industry, including small scale cottage industry.

3. Land reform inevitably remains one of our vital subjects. Much has been done in regard to it, but much more remains to be done, and all our States should try to complete this process as early as possible.

*A special letter in addition to the *Fortnightly Letters*

1 From 23 to 25 July 1954

2 These resolutions dealt with the question of integration of the French and Portuguese settlements into the Indian Union, welcomed the ceasefire agreement on Indo-China, and the five principles which should guide the relations between India and China and China and Burma, and called for the recognition of the independence of the countries comprising Indo-China

28 July, 1954

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4. The last resolution, dealing with constructive and developmental work, has taken a broad view of these constructive activities, inclusive not only of the old items of the constructive programme of the Congress, which continue to be important, but also of the developmental work going on in the country now and more especially the community projects and the national extension service schemes

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi
30 July, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,*

General Cariappa made a suggestion some time ago that we should observe one minute's silence on the 26th January in memory of those who gave their lives in the struggle for India's freedom. The idea appealed to me and I asked the co-ordination committee, which is in charge of the arrangements for Republic Day in Delhi, to examine it and find out how far it was practicable.

2 This committee considered the suggestion. While some of the members were in favour of it, others felt that January 26th would not be a suitable day. It would be difficult to organize one minute's silence at the time of the Republic Day parade when the whole parade was in motion. It was suggested, however, that January 30th might be a more appropriate day for this one minute's silence.

3 It seems to me that January 30th would be both more appropriate and more feasible. That day is already observed as a day of remembrance for Mahatma Gandhi. We might perhaps fix some time on the morning of that day, say at 10 a.m. for one minute's silence. It might be possible to have a simple ceremonial in Delhi itself at Rajghat at that time, such as the placing of some flowers. In other places in India we should try to have this one minute's silence and stoppage of movement as far as possible.

*A special letter in addition to the Fortnightly Letters

30 July, 1954

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4 I am communicating this idea to you for your consideration and for your comments. If the general idea is approved, the matter can be examined more fully.

5. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me have your reactions to this proposal soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Appendix

22 September, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,*

Even since the Congress took office in 1936 in the provinces, the question of the relationship of the Government with the Provincial Congress organization has often been discussed. Since 1946, when again we took office not only the Provinces but also in the Centre, this question has arisen again and again. The matter was considered at the Working Committee meeting in Indore recently.

It is clear that there must be co-operation between the Ministry and the Congress organization in the Provinces as well as in the Centre. Without the sanction which that organization gives, the Ministry would have little strength. At the same time, it is equally clear that it is neither desirable nor feasible for the organization to interfere in the activities of Government.

The general principle laid down in the past has been that, while matters of principle and high policy should be discussed, as far as possible, between Ministers and those representing the organization, in regard to other matters the organization should not interfere. In fact, high policy is usually the concern of the Congress Committee or the A.I.C.C. or the full session of the Congress.

But, apart from discussing any particular matter of policy, it is obviously desirable for close contacts to be maintained between the Governments and the organization. For this

*Letter addressed as President, Indian National Congress to all Chief Ministers and Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees

purpose, some kind of conventions have grown up in some of the States

We discussed this matter at some length at Indore. It was the general opinion that this should be dealt with by convention and not by rigid rule. It was not considered proper to have any article in the Congress Constitution about it or even to pass a precise resolution on the subject. I was asked to communicate with Chief Ministers and Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees and to suggest the kind of conventions that should be followed.

In accordance with this direction, I am writing to you and seeking your help and advice. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly let me know what practice or convention, if any, has grown up in your State on this subject. Do you consider that satisfactory or have you any other suggestion to make? Conditions differ in various States. In some there is only one Pradesh Congress Committee, in others there are more than one.

May I request you, therefore, to be good enough to send me your views on this subject?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Glossary

Adivasis	tribals in Madhya Pradesh
Bania	merchant, shopkeeper
Bharata Natyam	classical dance of southern India
Bhojpatra	the bark of a birch tree used in ancient times for writing
Dhoti	a garment worn round the waist and down to the feet by men
Gaon Samaj	village organization (Uttar Pradesh)
Gram Panchayat	village council
Gram Sewak	a village worker
Kisan Sangh	peasant union
Kumbh Mela	Hindu religious festival held every twelfth year at Allahabad and Hardwar
Mahila Samiti	women's association
Morcha	demonstration
Mulkis	local residents in Hyderabad as against settlers from outside
Nullah	a rivulet, a ravine
Pandal	pavilion
Ramlila	a play depicting the life-story of Rama
Ramzan	ninth month of the Islamic calendar
Stupa	a Buddhist monument containing relics
Suba	province

Swadeshi
Talukdari
Vihar
Yuvaraj

indigenously produced
a system of landholding
a Buddhist monastery
crown prince

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